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The Prestige, Mobility and Productivity of Rural Sociologists: a Study in the Sociology of Science.

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THE PRESTIGE, MOBILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY OF RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF SCIENCE

A DISSERTATION

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by
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DEDICATION:

To my daughter Laura

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ABSTRACT

The research reported in this dissertation was designed to measure the prestige, mobility, and productivity of rural sociologists and the quality and effectiveness of Rural Sociology departments. A structuralist framework was used to generate hypotheses concerning a rural sociological lineage system, and the implications of such a system for the discipline configurations of rural departments. To test these hypotheses, a sample of active members of the Rural Sociological Society were surveyed to obtain subjective weights for various rural publications outlets as well as for subjective assessments of the quality and effectiveness of Rural Sociology departments offering the Ph.D. degree. The publication weights generated were used in a content analysis of five volumes of Rural Sociology to obtain objective prestige measures. The exchange patterns of graduates between the departments studied were identified and measured.

Findings of the study strongly suggest the existence of an elite lineage within the subdiscipline of Rural Sociology. This lineage was found to be predictable in that exchange of graduates was consistently within lineage parameters. However, high ranking lineage graduates were preferred faculty members by all departments examined. Other findings indicate that the most productive departments are generally larger, have professionally younger faculties, and include a

faculty predominantly from the elite lineage. Publication prolificity was also shown to be a valuable predictor of subjective assessments of departmental quality and effectiveness.

The major implication of the study was that there is a definite "market" advantage in receiving a Ph.D. degree from an "elite" department. However, tight academic employment conditions will result in the crossing of otherwise strongly held lineage parameters. Such crossings will be from high ranking departments to lower level departments. In the opinion of the writer, crossings of this type will contribute to the eventual overall advancement of rural sociology as a subdiscipline of Sociology, and the effectiveness and quality of individual departments across the status hierarchy.

CHAPTER I

A SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

During recent years sociologists have displayed an increasing degree of interest in the scientific analysis of their own professional activities. Subsequently, the current professional literature is replete with studies describing the various conditions, motives, rewards, and other aspects which collectively comprise the professional province of the sociologist. Given the considerable social importance of such academic functions as teaching, research, and publication it is not surprising that these research efforts have generated a great deal of attention and controversy (cf. Bulmer, 1972; Smith, 1974; Kart and Schwartz, 1975). Surprising, however, is the fact that, although several researchers have attempted to analyze the discipline as a whole, relatively few analyses have been devoted to the various subdisciplines within the larger sociological system.[1]

To illustrate, one particularly prominent concern in recent inquiries has been the measurement of the relative prestige of sociology departments. This has generally been done by counting the frequency of citations in major journals. For the most part, researchers with this interest have used either the American Sociological Review or a

sample of similar journals as data from which generalizations and descriptions of the discipline are made (Knudsen and Vaughan, 1969; Glenn and Villemez, 1970; Sturgis and Clemente, 1973). Since researchers have typically relied on these "general" journals for their data, little is known about the specialty areas within the discipline or of the journals which represent these areas. Indeed, a review of the literature revealed only two studies directly devoted to the analysis of one important subdiscipline of sociology, and both of these studies evaluated the productivity of rural sociologists (Christenson et al., 1977; Grimes et al., 1978).[2] Given the paucity of research in this particular area, the purpose of the present study is to provide a point of departure for a more thorough understanding of rural sociology as a social entity. This study has therefore been designed to provide the data necessary for the formal advancement of what can be called a "sociology of rural sociology" (cf. Falk and Pinhey, 1978; Picou et al., 1978). Since the two studies cited above provide the point of departure for the research reported here, their findings are of sufficient importance to warrant a brief discussion.

Rural Sociological Outputs

The first article to appear which specifically addressed rural sociology, and the productivity of rural sociologists, stressed the need for developing evaluation criteria for those employed in extension services (Christenson

et al., 1977:84). The authors of this study argued that traditional rating scales and the implicit standards they portray, have little relevance for sociologists in extension. Therefore, data from 111 individuals who worked in or with the Extension Service throughout the United States, and who had at least a master's degree in sociology or rural sociology, were queried in order to generate suggested weights for rural sociological outputs.

Importantly, Christenson and his colleagues found that rural sociologists who were primarily engaged in extension activities assigned different weights to the more conventional measures of professional output than did scholars in the more traditional teaching/research role. They also suggested that the evaluation of professional outputs, when confined to such indicators as those used by most of the objective measures of departmental prestige, may provide too narrow a view of scholarly productivity. This should be especially true in areas wherein participants engage in a wider variety of activities, which would certainly include many rural sociologists.

Departmental Prestige in Rural Sociology

Taking a somewhat different approach, Grimes and his co-authors (1978) attempted to delineate departmental prestige in rural sociology. For this effort, the institutional affiliations of authors of major publications in the journal Rural Sociology from 1936 to 1975 were used to develop

measures of prestige for the rural subdiscipline. Moreover, the entire history of the journal's publication was analyzed as well as each decade within that period. Subsequently, the data were used to assess both trends in relative institutional prestige for rural sociology, and the relationship between prestige in rural sociology and its counterpart in general sociology.

The findings of the Grimes study indicated that prestige in rural sociology has tended to be more unstable than stable, and that there is little association between prestige in rural sociology and in general sociology after the first decade of the journal's publication. To illustrate, the rankings presented in the Grimes study are contrasted in Table 1 with two frequently cited general sociological prestige hierarchies (Knudsen and Vaughan, 1969; Glenn and Villemez, 1970). As can be seen, only three institutions which appear on the rural scale can be found on either of the two general scales.

In summary, these two studies yield two very important although somewhat controversial conclusions: (1) rural sociologists utilize or perceive reward systems which are somewhat different from those used by general sociologists, and (2) the stratification of the rural subdiscipline, at least as measured in the Grimes study, is decidedly unique when compared with prestige hierarchies of the larger discipline.

The validity of the latter point may be questionable,

TABLE 1. A Comparison Of Rural And General Sociological Prestige Rankings

Rural Rankings (1966-1975)[a]	Knudsen-Vaughan (1960-1964)[b]	Glenn-Villemez (1965-1968)[c]
1. Wisconsin[d]	Berkeley	Michigan
2. Pennsylvania State	Harvard	Wisconsin[d]
3. Georgia	Chicago	Chicago
4. Missouri	Michigan	Columbia
5. Illinois (Urbana)[d]	Columbia	Harvard
6. Michigan State	Princeton	Berkeley
7. Cornell[d]	Wisconsin[d]	North Carolina
8. Kentucky	U.C.L.A.	Illinois (Urbana)[d]
9. Iowa State	Stanford	U.C.L.A.
10. North Carolina State	Northwestern	Cornell[d]

[a] Taken from Grimes et al., (1977)

[b] Taken from Knudsen and Vaughan (1969)

[c] Taken from Glenn and Villemez (1970)

[d] Appears on rural and at least one general scale

however, when the findings of both studies are considered together. Specifically, Christenson and his colleagues (1977) show that several different productivity outlets are available to rural sociologists. One rather obvious example is, of course, the experiment station bulletin. Also, books (single authored, co-authored or edited) received relatively high values in the final analysis of the Christenson study, and were thus given greater weights than refereed journal articles. But the Grimes study failed to include these outlets in their analysis by opting to use only "major articles" for the construction of the final index of rural prestige. By excluding such factors as books, brief articles, and bulletins from the analysis, Grimes and his colleagues (1978) obviously presented a somewhat skewed ranking.

Although the studies discussed above certainly reveal important insights into the structure of rural sociology, several questions remain unanswered. For example, if there is a stratification system within the subdiscipline of rural sociology, what are the implications of this system? Is the system open or closed? Specifically, is there an exchange or circulation of graduates between highly ranked rural departments? Moreover, if publications via salient outlets are used to establish the "rural prestige hierarchy" what variables best predict high rates of productivity among rural sociologists? Finally, are there differences between subjective or reputational evaluations

of rural departments and objective measures of rural prestige?

The Organization of The Study

The above discussion was intended to provide a general notion of the focus of this study -- a detailed analysis of rural sociology. The remainder of this study is presented as follows: (1) chapter II contains a review of relevant literature pertaining to stratification, mobility patterns, and productivity of scientists in general, and sociologists in particular; (2) chapter III is devoted to a theoretical frame of reference from which hypotheses pertaining to the implications of stratification, mobility, and productivity among rural sociologists can be drawn; (3) chapter IV is devoted to the methodological procedures used for both gathering the data and for testing hypotheses; (4) chapter V contains a summary of the findings; and finally (5) the conclusions and implications of the study are presented in Chapter VI.

Justification For The Study

Prior to presenting a review of the literature pertaining to the topics discussed above, a brief justification for this study seems appropriate. To paraphrase Cartter (1966:3), why try to assess academic prestige? Several reasons can be advanced for undertaking such a study. As Cartter states:

> Evaluation of quality in education, at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, is important not only in determining the front-ranking institutions, but also in identifying lower-ranking colleges. Many prospective graduate students would not be suited to an education at Harvard, the Rockefeller Institute, or California Institute of Technology. Other institutions, in view of their educational offerings, level of work, and quality of students, would provide a happier and more productive experience. Universities, through their selection procedures, and students, through their natural proclivities, tend to sort themselves out into congenial environments. Anything that aids in this process -- which is now accomplished rather haphazardly -- may be useful in itself (1966:3).

Indeed, Roose and Andersen (1970:2) note that many administrators and scholars found the Cartter study to be a useful tool in attempts to upgrade individual graduate programs. Among other things, reactions to the findings of the Cartter report played an important part in budget requests. Moreover, departmental chairpersons were able to support changes of emphasis within programs and the reallocation of support by references to the Cartter data. Students also found the Cartter rankings valuable in making decisions concerning the selection of graduate programs. And, as Glenn and Villemez (1970) note, the rankings reported in such studies promote a healthy competition between departments relative to future scholarly efforts (cf. Pfiffer et al., 1976).[3] It is hoped the present study will bring forth similar results for rural sociologists.

From a theoretical standpoint, it seems an appropriate time to turn the sociological enterprise upon itself; to

locate our own activities in the same sociological universe as the behavior of the other individuals we analyze. As Collins (1975:481) states:

> A theory of career mobility is empirically equivalent to stating a theory of stratification or social structure. Since the structure of scientific stratification or organization is causally related to the structure of accepted scientific ideas (in the same way that ideologies are related to stratification and organization), this is also equivalent to explaining the social basis of scientific ideas.

From the above it follows that, by delineating the various strata of rural sociology, the very sources of what might be called rural sociological knowledge will be identified. Moreover, as Crane (1970:953) elaborates, sociologists have long been accustomed to perceiving the entire society as a stratification system, but have, in general, shown less concern with the fact that classes of organizations within any particular society form separate stratification systems. Analyses of smaller subsystems, such as the present investigation, can contribute greatly to our understanding of social mobility generally and within rural sociology more particularly.

Finally, it should be noted that it is a characteristic of being human that man wishes to know himself and his place among other men (cf. Hoebel, 1972:3). In this respect it is apparent that sociologists have yet tc disentangle themselves from their nonprofessional proclivities toward the ranking of various human activities. Simply put, the

question of "who is first" in rural sociology is as human a question in contemporary America as is asking who is number one in professional football, baseball or hockey. Therefore, if for no other reason than to bring satisfaction to our probing curiosity, rural sociology, as any other human endeavor, deserves study for its own sake.[4]

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be noted that a number of researchers have conducted studies of the various theory "schools" within the larger discipline. See, for examples, Mullins (1974), Vaughan and Reynolds (1968), and Reynolds et al., (1970).

2. Some additional studies were located which touched upon the subdiscipline of rural sociology as a research topic. For example, Crane (1969) studied sociologists within the rural subdiscipline who conducted "diffusion" research to test the "invisible college" hypothesis, and Christenson and his coauthors (1977) examined extension sociologists. Although these studies are important, their findings relate to areas quite distinct from those discussed here, and thus, they are not included in this brief review. See Hightower (1972) for a somewhat scathing indictment of the Land Grant College Complex, in general.

3. See Collins (1976:479) and Hagstrom (1965) for discussions of academic competition.

4. Horowitz (1970) offers a useful typology for explaining possible differences in rates of publication by various social scientists. Since "top" departments are typically identified by publication counts, this author's discussion of academic "style" provides a reasonable explanation for why some publish more than others. The assumption made in the present study is that, for the most part, scholars publish to further their careers (cf. Mahoney, 1976:79-107).

CHAPTER II

PRESTIGE, MOBILITY, AND PRODUCTIVITY

Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections, with each section devoted to the discussion of one specific aspect of recent findings related to the characteristics of sociology departments and of the sociological discipline as a whole. In the first section the writer reports findings relative to departmental prestige or rankings. The following section is devoted to a discussion of mobility within the academic setting. An examination of the various factors found which influence academic "productivity" is included in the last section.

Rankings and Departmental Prestige

One of the first major investigations reporting the rankings of various academic departments was conducted at the University of Pennsylvania by Hayward Keniston (1959).[1] For this study, Keniston queried departmental chairmen in 25 leading universities and asked them to rank order the 15 strongest departments in their fields. Keniston was thus able to calculate scores for each department by weighting inversely the "rank" assigned by each of the respondents. That is, if a respondent listed an institution as first, it

was weighted 15; if it was listed fifteenth, it was given a weight of 1. Keniston then totaled the weights and ranked the various departments according to their resultant scores. Lists of the top 20 departments in the 24 disciplines he had included in the study were published in 1959 as an appendix to a study of graduate education at the University of Pennsylvania (Keniston, 1959).[2]

In 1964, Allan M. Cartter conducted a more extensive survey than that reported by Keniston. For that effort Cartter gathered data from 4,000 faculty members in 30 disciplines at 106 major institutions (Cartter, 1966). Cartter had each respondent select from several terms the one that best described his or her judgement of (1) the quality of the graduate faculty, (2) the effectiveness of the doctoral program, and (3) the degree of expected change in the position of departments in as many of the major institutions offering doctoral study in his or her discipline as the respondent felt competent to rate. Cartter assigned a numerical weight to each term describing the quality of faculty and the effectiveness of the program, and then calculated average scores for each question for each department at each of the sampled institutions.

The Cartter report was primarily directed to the "quality of graduate faculty" scores, which theoretically could have ranged from a value of 5.00 for a department that all respondents considered "distinguished;" to a low of 0.00 for a department with a graduate faculty that all respondents

considered to be of a quality "not sufficient to provide acceptable doctoral training." Those departments with the highest scores (4.01 and above) were categorized as "distinguished" by Cartter, and listed in rank order in his report. Those at the next level (3.01-4.00) were labeled as "strong" by Cartter, and were also listed in rank order. Cartter defined two additional categories: "good" (2.51-3.00), and "adequate plus" (2.00-2.50). Departments with scores falling within these two categories were listed alphabetically. The final rankings and an extensive discussion of the relationship of the rankings to various factors that are assumed to contribute to high-quality graduate departments, were published in 1966.

Roose and Andersen's 1970 study was essentially a replication of Cartter's earlier effort. However, the Roose and Andersen study was expanded to include seven new disciplines and 25 additional institutions. Moreover, these authors attempted to de-emphasize the "pecking-order" relationship inherent in most scoring systems by not presenting scores for individual institutions. However, in order to facilitate comparison with the earlier ratings, they did indicate in rank order those institutions with 1969 scores that were equivalent to Cartter's "distinguished" and "strong" categories.

Briefly, the most dramatic finding coming from the Roose and Andersen study was the improvement in the rated quality of faculty in a large number of graduate programs.

As Roose and Andersen state:

> Three-quarters of the 1,600-plus programs surveyed in both studies show increases in their "quality of graduate faculty" scores. In 1964, 1,161 or 69.8 percent, of the rated faculties achieved the score category "adequate plus" or better. By contrast, in 1969, 1,306, or 80.0 percent, of the faculties included in both studies had equivalent scores (1970:2).

The Roose and Andersen report also noted considerable evidence of regional improvement, with Southern institutions being particularly notable. Specifically, in 1969, 73 percent of the Southern faculties included in both surveys merited a rating of "adequate plus" or above. In the 1964 study conducted by Cartter, only 59 percent received such ratings.

Of further interest is the fact that many programs not previously rated achieved scores equivalent to the "adequate plus" or higher rankings. However, despite the general improvement in the quality of established programs and the emergence of a substantial number of new highly-rated programs in the 29 disciplines common to both the Cartter and the Roose and Andersen studies, the proportion of all faculties at or above the "adequate plus" level was 70 percent. That is, there was essentially no change from 1964 to 1969 in terms of this measure.

Data are presented in Table 2 to highlight the above discussion. As can be seen, the top five sociology departments remain fairly constant from 1957 through 1970. California (Berkeley), however, moves from sixth in the Keniston

TABLE 2. High Ranking Graduate Sociology Departments: Keniston, Cartter, And Roose-Andersen Studies

Top 15 Departments, Keniston Study, 1957	Top 20 Departments, Cartter Study, 1966	Top 20 Departments, Roose-Andersen Study, 1970
1. Harvard	1. California, Berkeley	1. California, Berkeley*
2. Columbia	2. Harvard	Harvard*
3. Chicago	3. Columbia	3. Chicago
4. Michigan	4. Chicago	4. Columbia*
5. Cornell	5. Michigan	Michigan*
6. California, Berkeley	6. Wisconsin	6. Wisconsin
7. Minnesota	7. Cornell	7. North Carolina
8. North Carolina	8. Princeton	8. U.C.L.A.
9. Washington (Seattle)	9. Minnesota	9. Cornell*
10. Yale	10. North Carolina	Johns Hopkins*
11. U.C.L.A.	11. U.C.L.A.	Northwestern*
12. Wisconsin	12. Stanford	Princeton*
13. Northwestern	13. Washington (Seattle)	13. Washington (Seattle)*
14. Ohio State	14. Northwestern	Yale*
15. Pennsylvania	15. Yale	15. Minnesota*
	16. Washington (St. Louis)	Stanford*
	17. Michigan State	17. Michigan State*
	18. Indiana*	Texas*
	Texas*	19. Indiana
	20. Johns Hopkins	20. Brandeis*
		Pennsylvania

*Score and rank are shared with another institution

study to the top spot over Harvard in the Cartter and Roose and Andersen investigations. Cornell dropped to seventh in the Cartter report, and is tied for ninth in the Roose and Andersen index. Thus, while there is a fairly constant ranking over time for the top departments, the "reputations" of some of them can be seen to fluctuate (cf. Abbott, 1973).

The research objective of both the Cartter (1966) and the Roose and Andersen (1970) studies focused in the identification of high quality graduate departments as measured by the subjective assessments of members of a particular discipline. Thus, both studies made use of a questionnaire sent to a sample of departmental chairpersons and senior and junior faculty members which contained the following question:

> Which of the terms below best describes your judgement of the quality of the graduate faculty in your field at each of the institutions listed? Consider only the scholarly competence and achievements of the present faculty: (1) distinguished (2) strong (3) good (4) adequate (5) marginal (6) not sufficient to provide acceptable doctoral training (7) insufficient information (Cartter, 1966:12).

The rating of a department was determined by combining these subjective assessments into a single score.

As pointed out by Lewis (1968) and Shamblin (1970), one major problem encountered with this kind of measurement of quality is that these data are entirely subjective. The findings and conclusions of both the Cartter (1966) and the Roose and Andersen (1970) studies must therefore be regarded in terms of prestige rankings rather than quality rank-

ings. Indeed, if such studies measure anything, it is the reputation of a particular department.

As Lewis (1968:129) suggested, for many sociologists, particularly those who have examined the methodology of social stratification, there is the nagging question of how closely the subjective ranking of a phenomenon approximates its objective assessment. With this notion in mind, Knudsen and Vaughan (1969) selected another important measure of departmental prestige: departmental publication records in three major professional journals -- the American Sociological Review, the American Journal of Sociology, and Social Forces -- as their measure of institutional prestige for sociology.[3] Their scale was based on the institutional affiliations of the authors of all articles, research notes, and book reviews, weighted according to type of publication and location. In addition, these authors introduced as a control variable the number of faculty and graduates of the various departments. Thus, Knudsen and Vaughan (1969) developed two new major indices other than total frequency of publication -- publication per faculty member, and publication per Ph.D. awarded.

Importantly, Knudsen and Vaughan (1969) found a high degree of correspondence between the Cartter (1966) ranking and their cumulative publications per department measure, especially among the leading schools. As summarized by Shamblin (1970:154), the same five departments "were ranked at the top of both lists, although the order was not

identical." A considerable change was noted, however, when the additional variables of size of faculty and number of graduates were introduced into the analysis.

Clearly, these authors were able to identify a limited number of departments whose faculties and graduate programs comprised the sociological elite, since there was, generally a certain amount of agreement between both Cartter's (1966) subjective rankings and their own objective measures (Knudsen and Vaughan, 1969:17). But Glenn and Villemez (1970) criticized the Knudsen-Vaughan index because it assigned equal weights to all books reviewed, used only three journals, and used arbitrary criteria for determining weights assigned to the various publications. In an attempt to correct these deficiencies, Glenn and Villemez proposed an index which made use of 22 different sociology and related journals, plus monographs, textbooks, and edited works, and weighted these publications with scores derived from responses to a questionnaire asking sociologists to assign values to the above mentioned forms of publication. This more comprehensive and refined measure placed the same departments in the top five and in the top six as did the Knudsen-Vaughan Index, but the rankings within the top five were different (Glenn and Villemez, 1970:250). As shown in Table 3, the Glenn-Villemez Index raised Michigan two places, to first, and Wisconsin three places, to second. It lowered Columbia from first to fourth and dropped Chicago and Harvard each one place. Among other things, the Glenn-Villemez

TABLE 3. Rankings Of Top Ten Sociology Departments On The Knudsen-Vaughan 1965-1968 Index, And The Glenn-Villemez Comprehensive Index, 1965-1968

Knudsen-Vaughan (1965-1968)		Glenn-Villemez (1965-1968)	
1.	Columbia	1.	Michigan
2.	Chicago	2.	Wisconsin
3.	Michigan	3.	Chicago
4.	Harvard	4.	Columbia
5.	Wisconsin	5.	Harvard
6.	California, Berkeley	6.	California, Berkeley
7.	Brandeis	7.	North Carolina
8.	Princeton	8.	Illinois
9.	Illinois	9.	U.C.L.A.
10.	Washington (Seattle)	10.	Cornell

Index clearly indicated that Wisconsin had risen into the elite ranks as far as sociological productivity is concerned. This finding was later confirmed by Grimes et al., (1978) as indicated earlier in the discussion of rural prestige (See Table 1).

Sturgis and Clemente (1973) took a somewhat different approach in their analysis of productivity and prestige rankings, as they were primarily concerned with the publication productivity of graduates of major sociology departments. In terms of sample size, breadth of indices, and the time span involved, this is perhaps the most comprehensive study of this variety to date.

The population from which the Sturgis and Clemente (1973:169) data were derived consisted of the 2,467 members of the American Sociological Association who received the Ph.D. in sociology from American universities during the period 1950-1966. Utilizing the 1967 and 1970 directories of the ASA, these authors identified a primary sample of 2,205 members of the population for whom relevant data were available. From this group, 2,120 sociologists who received the doctorate from departments that had 10 or more Ph.D. graduates in the primary sample were selected. Fifty departments had 10 or more graduates in the primary sample and thus constituted the major foci of their study.

Publication productivity was based on a modified version of the Glenn-Villemez Index. The major change here was the inclusion of all books received for review by the

ASR, as well as those actually reviewed. Glenn and Villemez only counted books reviewed in that journal.

Sturgis and Clemente (1973:170) then ascertained the publication record for each member of the sample for the period 1940-1970 through an exhaustive examination of every issue of each of the 22 journals on the Glenn-Villemez Index, and each book received for review as reported in the ASR's "Books Received" section. Thus, almost 7,000 publications were counted.

Five factors were operationalized as indices of the success of graduate departments in training competent research scholars. The first three were productivity scores associated with articles, books and total points on the Glenn-Villemez Index. In addition, the percent of graduates who ever published in the Glenn-Villemez Index and the percentage of graduates who published on the Index before receiving the Ph.D. were entered into the analysis.

In summary, Sturgis and Clemente (1973:177) found that, with a large number of publication outlets considered over a long period of time, there were no "elite" four or five departments; at least not in terms of the productivity of graduates.

As discussed in Chapter One, Grimes and his coauthors (1978) also analyzed the prestige and productivity of a group of sociologists over a long period of time. For rural sociological prestige, fluctuation was found to be the rule rather than the exception, a finding which agrees with the

Sturgis and Clemente (1973) analysis of the larger discipline. Of further interest, however, is the statistical analysis offered in the Grimes study of three of the rankings thus far discussed. Table 4 contains data taken from the Grimes study which compares the Cartter, Knudsen-Vaughan and Glenn-Villemez indexes. As can be seen, a fair amount of association exists between Cartter's subjective measure and the two early objective indexes. This, of course, indicates the value of the objective prestige measures as suggested by Lewis (1968:129). To date, however, no subjective assessment of rural prestige has been published.

It should be noted that in regard to such measures of sociological prestige, some authors argue that the subjective/objective measures generally agree (Grimes et al., 1978 ; Lewis, 1968; Cartter, 1966), and others suggest that they do not (Knudsen and Vaughan, 1969). Still, others decry the general inadequacy of both types of measures in portraying the prestige hierarchy, and suggest the influences of other salient factors, including characteristics of universities rather than departments (Abbott, 1972:15). Finally, some (Shamblin, 1970) suggest that the very exercise of measuring prestige itself is detrimental to the profession. However, amid these claims and counter-claims there seems to be a fair amount of consensus that productivity is at least one key ingredient in the prestige of sociology departments.

TABLE 4. Intercorrelations Of Prestige Measures, Top Institutions, Cartter, Knudsen-Vaughan, And Glenn-Villemez[a]

	Cartter Ranking	Knudsen-Vaughan Ranking	Glenn-Villemez Ranking
Cartter Ranking	-	.66	.91
Knudsen-Vaughan Ranking		-	.71
Glenn-Villemez Ranking			-
n =	11	21	14

[a] When comparing indexes, eleven schools were ranked by all three indices. These associations are based on eleven observations

One question remains unanswered at this point. Specifically, what influence do these reports have on the various departments analyzed? Pfeffer et al., (1976) recently addressed this question. These authors were particularly concerned with the influence of published ratings on subsequent publication in three disciplines -- chemistry, political science, and sociology. The possibility that the publication of a status or prestige hierarchy might have consequences for the stability of that hierarchy was explicitly recognized in Cartter's (1966:9) report. Such a hierarchy was thought to provide social support and formal recognition, thus making the prestige ranking more stable.

To assess this possible influence, data on relevant publications for each of the three disciplines were gathered. These publications were then aggregated into two time periods. As Pfeffer et al., (1976:214) state, the first period involved the years that could not be affected by the publication of the Cartter report, because it had not yet appeared. However, the second time period could have influenced publications, and therefore, subsequent rankings. The authors summarized:

> ...the argument concerning the effect of survey results on subsequent publication was not supported. Controlling for publication in the preceeding period, there was no effect of the ratings on subsequent publication outcomes, and there was no difference in the effect of either the ratings or the previous publications variable across fields (Pfeffer et al., 1976:216).

In conclusion, then, a good many studies have addressed

the topic of academic stratification in various ways. Earlier studies utilized subjective assessments in attempts to generate "quality" rankings of academic departments. Later it was argued that such studies actually assessed the relative "prestige" of academic departments. Consequently, researchers began to examine the relationship between objective measures and their subjective counterparts. The conclusions regarding this relationship were inconsistent: Lewis (1968) holding that there was such a correspondence, while Knudsen and Vaughan (1969) and Glenn and Villemez (1970) held to the contrary point of view (cf. Solomon and Walters, 1975:229). Finally, it has been reported that published rankings have little influence in subsequent departmental publication records, but that such analyses might affect the allocation of specific resources such as research grants and the selection of institutions by graduate students and faculty (cf. Pfeffer et al., 1976: 217).

Academic Mobility

Perhaps no other group within the academic setting is more concerned with placement than are graduate students. The topic is perennial, and numerous hours are spent discussing the strategies required for upward mobility at graduation. In this regard, it is generally assumed that placement is determined more by achievement than by ascription. Specifically, it is felt that in order to attain

recognition as a scholar one has to have accomplished something that others would recognize; that is, one would have to have achieved something (cf. Lewis, 1975:25; Mahoney, 1976:79). Among other things, "getting published" is a recognized and generally successful means for enhancing personal recognition and prestige, as well as a way of earning job security and advancement (Mahoney, 1976). Therefore, one strategy centers on productivity prior to the doctorate as a means for enhancing one's placement at a major university.

On the other hand, placement is often thought to be strongly related to the quality or prestige of a candidate's Ph.D. granting institution. In this regard, placement is seen as an artifact of ascription. From this perspective, a student's selection of a graduate program is argued to have the most far-reaching effects on his or her academic career, since major universities are thought to hire only their own graduates or those of other major schools (cf. Berelson, 1960:109).

The idea of an ascriptive academic system has received a good deal of support in the literature (cf. Caplow and McGee, 1958:225). For example, Sibley (1963:72) discovered that holders of doctoral degrees from the eleven departments at the head of Keniston's (1959) list were more likely to be found on the staffs of leading universities, and that scarcely any of them were found teaching in junior colleges or lower ranked schools. As well, Caplow and McGee (1958)

examined the process of faculty replacement by the liberal arts departments of nine major universities and showed that the prestige of the candidate rather than his or her scholarly performance *per se* was salient. Simply put, there was a distinct relationship between the prestige of a candidate's Ph.D. granting institution and the prestige of the hiring department. Berelson (1960:113) also stressed the influence of the prestige of the doctorate upon an individual's opportunities for mobility in the academic stratification system (cf. Crane, 1970:954). However, because employment opportunities for sociologists have changed considerably since these studies were conducted, there is good reason to doubt that this same pattern prevails today. In any case, the phenomenon of mobility within the rural sociological sector has yet to be scientifically analyzed.

The achievement perspective on academic mobility is further weakened when it is realized that graduates of major universities have been found to be more productive than graduates of minor universities (cf. Crane, 1965). As well, it has been found that having attended a major graduate school has more effect on a scientist's later productivity than *current* location at an elite university. Moreover, students of "eminent sponsors" have been shown to be more productive than students of other scientists (Crane, 1965).

From the above findings Crane (1965:713) argued that a student's *talent* is more important in determining producti-

vity than the prestige of his or her academic affiliation or that of a sponsor. Simply put, the best students are selected by the best graduate departments, the best of these are selected for training by the top scientists, and from this highly selected group come the next generation's most productive scholars, and these scholars are hired by other "major" departments (cf. Berelson, 1960:109).

The publication of the Cartter report and similar ranking indices has made it possible to examine academic mobility in greater detail. Thus, in a more recent study, Crane (1970:954) was able to use mobility data of faculty among Cartter's twenty top departments in chemistry, physics, psychology, and economics to examine the relationship between prestige of doctorate and the selection of candidates by top-ranking institutions.

The findings of the Crane (1970:956) study indicate that at each level of the twenty leading departments, a greater proportion of those hired had degrees from the top five departments than from any other level within the system. "Almost twice as many graduates of the top five schools were hired by the leading twenty departments as were graduates of the next five schools (38 percent compared with 20 percent)." An immediate explanation to such a finding might center on the probable high number of doctorates awarded by these schools, but as Crane (1970:956) points out, this is not the case. Indeed, Cartter (1966: 120) found that at no time since the 1930's have the leading

ten universities awarded more than 38 percent of the total doctorates granted by all American universities (cf. Sibley, 1963:54-66).

Since departments at all ranks of the top twenty favored graduates from the top five departments, Crane found that the correlation between rank of hiring department and rank of graduate degree school was not high (r=.181). As Crane (1970:958) stated:

> It appeared that, among all ranks of the leading departments, high-prestige doctorates were preferred. A number of additional variables, such as previous employment, performance, rewards, and discipline, were examined in order to see if they affected this relationship...the proportion hired from schools with the highest ranks (excluding faculty hired by the schools which trained them) remained unchanged, regardless of the nature of the subgroup examined.

Again, based upon Crane's (1970) data, one can conclude that doctoral origin would be the best predictor of an individual's likelihood of being hired by one of the top twenty departments (cf. Gross, 1970), and the ascriptive notion of the importance of graduate program selection is strengthened.

The selection of an appropriate graduate program, however, is problematic in two ways: (1) as Caplow and McGee (1958:225) suggested, students select institutions for advanced degrees with little or no knowledge of the prestige system of the discipline. "Professionally speaking, the student's choice is made almost at random." And (2), recent studies indicate that the academic prestige system

fluctuates over time (cf. Grimes et al., 1978). Therefore, an important question remains relative to the influence of the reputation of the graduate degree granting institution on the overall career of an individual scientist.

Stehr (1974) recently addressed the above question in a study of career contingencies for sociologists. The major finding of the Stehr analysis centered on the fact that the reputation of the graduate degree granting institution on the career of sociologists over a period of time declined to such a degree that it became almost negligible. However, previous academic affiliation was found to be an important factor in determining subsequent academic affiliation.

From Stehr's findings it might be concluded that, over time, a highly productive sociologist could possibly "work" his or her way into the upper strata of the sociological stratification system after receiving a doctorate from an unranked department. If such a conclusion were valid, it would lend weight to the achievement orientation toward academic mobility.

Finally, the conclusions reached by Solomon and Walters (1975) in their recent analysis of the relationship between productivity and prestige should be noted. Briefly, these authors utilized a multivariate analysis to examine the relationships between these two factors, and in doing so, tested two hypotheses. The first hypothesis stated that the current prestige of a graduate sociology department

was primarily caused by prior productivity. Thus, the controversy regarding the relationship between productivity and prestige was conceptualized as an example of the broader issue of the relative primacy of universalistic vs. particularistic modes of evaluation, and therefore, resource-allocation among organizations (cf. Parsons and Shils, 1951). As an example of a universalistic evaluation model, Solomon and Walters (1975:229) assumed that the prestige of a sociology department was based upon both the quantity of publications and the quality (measured by consensual "quality" of outlets) of scholarly productivity of departmental staffs. The theoretical explanation of particularistic evaluation was based on Caplow's (1964) notion of organization-set. Here it was suggested that groups of organizations in communication with each other generate prestige orders (i.e., systems of composite subjective evaluations). Such prestige rankings result in the setting of normative standards or performance criteria by the higher prestige organizations. Thus, these dominant organizations maintain an optimal bargaining position within the set for both resources within the set and resource acquisition external to it. Solomon and Walters (1975:230) conclude:

> By virtue of their dominance of the normative order, which enables them to set rules that legitimize their dominance (e.g., via performance standards), and by resource control, which enables them to maintain their superior bargaining position, prestige-dominant organizations tend to remain dominant and hence the prestige order of which they are a part tends to be self-perpetuating.

Thus, the second hypothesis tested stated that the current prestige of a department is primarily caused by prior prestige. Using objective measures derived from the Knudsen and Vaughan (1969), and Glenn and Villemez (1970) studies, and subjective assessments taken from the Cartter (1966) and the Roose and Andersen (1970) reports, these hypotheses were tested. The findings reported by these authors tend to support the second hypothesis: that is, "current" prestige is essentially a function of prior prestige, rather than staff productivity. Importantly, among other conclusions derived from the Solomon and Walters (1975:235) investigation, and of extreme relevance here, is the notion that the "superior mobility prospects of graduates of 'top' schools are not necessarily a function of their greater productivity" (cf. Crane, 1970; Clemente and Sturgis, 1972).

As Crane (1970:953) has suggested, one principal concern in the study of social mobility has been the extent to which sons inherit the social class status of their fathers. The basic issue, therefore, has centered on the relative importance of achieved and ascribed characteristics in determining career patterns. For the studies reviewed here, this problem was generally conceptualized in terms of the relationship between prestige of doctorate, scholarly performance, and selection for a position in an elite department. The findings suggest that ascribed rather than achieved characteristics overwhelmingly determine the eventual place-

ment of academic aspirants. Nevertheless, the notion of "publish or perish" remains as an accepted fact in the academic world (cf. Mills, 1951:132). Moreover, it has been shown that productivity is strongly related to the prestige of an academic department (cf. Solomon, 1972; Grimes et al., 1978).

Academic Productivity

C. Wright Mills (1951:132) was among the first sociologists to note the importance of the "producer" for an academic department or university. Mills characterized the producer as an individual who made new ideas available to other scholars via publications, and further noted that in most colleges and universities the producer was the most "honored." In this regard, highly published scholars enhance departmental as well as individual chances for future research funding and subsequent publication. For this reason, many universities cultivate as large a roster of academic celebrities as their budget will allow, hoping to build a department of professionals with high ratings, with the major goal of furthering research within a particular field (cf. Care, 1965:14).

Although academic mobility seems to depend primarily upon the prestige of one's doctorate, the prestige of academic departments appears to depend, in part, on departmental productivity (cf. Solomon, 1972; Grimes et al., 1978).[4] As well, it appears that other salient rewards generally

accrue to academic achievers. From this perspective, it would follow that the identification of variables associated with academic productivity would provide important insights into the process of academic success. Simply put, if one were to know the conditions under which scientists were most productive, one would know which factors to manipulate in order to achieve higher departmental prestige and, perhaps, a more adequately funded departmental research program.

Morris (1951) was among the first to delineate some of the variables influencing publication productivity. That the tendency toward high or low publication prolificity is largely established relatively early in the career of social scientists was clearly demonstrated by his analysis (cf. Meltzer, 1949). Evidently, influences such as rate of educational progress, and early publication activity are manifestations of conditions which continue to function throughout the professional career. Thus, one's socialization into the profession appears as an important factor in determining later academic success vis a vis productivity. Such an assertion is supported, in part, by Crane's (1965) finding that students of "eminent" sponsors were more productive when compared with students of other scientists (cf. Lewis, 1975:120).

From this perspective one is prompted to explore the actual size of an individual department, since it might be assumed that larger departments would be more likely to

employ more scholars of an eminent class (cf. Wanderer, 1966). As well, larger departments might also be those which produce more articles simply because there are more researchers within the department contributing to the journals (cf. Oromaner, 1970:241). The influence of more faculty numbers, however, could be mediated by the size of the graduate student population, since the adequate socialization of students might well be related to a sponsor's available time, with "socialization" duties cutting into research and writing schedules -- and vice versa. Such a notion prompted Caplow and McGee (1958:232) to state "that the best training cannot be achieved in the best departments because of overcrowding."

Janes' (1969) early examination of the student-faculty ratio in sociology graduate programs may offer some clues relative to the relationships between size, productivity, and prestige (cf. Lavender et al., 1971). The findings reported by Janes (1969:126) indicated that most departments with large graduate student enrollments were in publicly supported institutions, were in urban areas, were highly rated professionally, and had relatively large numbers of students per member of the senior faculty. As well, departments in private schools had somewhat smaller graduate programs, and departments with smaller or "average" graduate enrollments were less likely to be highly rated professionally. Important to the previous discussion is Janes' (1969:127) finding that students appear to move more rapidly to

the Ph.D. in departments where the faculty-student ratio is lower, but those departments tend not to be "rated." This condition constitutes a kind of institutional paradox. As Janes (1969:127) summarizes, "the production of doctorates is more efficient in terms of time spent by the student working for the degree if the faculty-student ratio is low, but it is difficult to maintain such a ratio along with a high rating of the department."

Of further importance is Janes' (1970:241) exploration of the relationship between ages of departmental members and productivity (cf. Caplow and McGee, 1958:86). Three measures of age were used by the above cited author: chronological age, age at Ph.D., and professional age (the difference between age at Ph.D. and chronological age).

In general, Janes (1970:242) found that more distinguished departments were more likely to have young sociologists on their staffs. Indeed, 50 percent of the members of "distinguished" departments were below the chronological age of forty, whereas only 31 percent of those in "other" departments were below that age, with almost 70 percent being older. This pattern held for each of the three measures used by Janes (1970).

Although the findings reported by Janes (1970) are important, and while they offer vital clues pointing to factors which might account for variations in productivity, the research design failed to link actual measures of productivity with other important variables. Lightfield (1971),

however, did attempt to link measures of both quality and quantity of productivity with other salient factors.

As a measure of quantity of research output, Lightfield (1971:128) used the total number of publications of each sociologist who had received their Ph.D. degrees between 1954 and 1963, and who were members of U.S. departments of sociology offering graduate training. This measure did not include abstracts, theses, dissertations, book reviews, or research notes. Essentially then, his final index consisted of the sum of weights assigned to published articles, book chapters, and original texts. Quality was measured by the number of references or citations to an individual sociologist's works. These citation "counts" were derived from three sociological journals for the years 1953 through 1968; the American Sociological Review, the American Journal of Sociology, and Social Forces.

Lightfield's (1971:133) results indicated that the status-rank of the department where a sociologist receives his or her Ph.D. degree appears to have a direct effect upon both quantity and quality of publications. Moreover, the relationship between the quantity and quality of publications for the two hundred sociologists sampled was significant ($r=.75$). The data also showed a relatively high consistency between quality publications and continued output in the first several years of an individual's professional career. Thus, Lightfield (1971:133) states that "if a sociologist is productive during his initial years, he is

likely to remain so; conversely, if he does not publish a quality piece during his initial years, he is not likely to do so later."

Clemente (1973) added some additional variables to Lightfield's (1971) list. As may be recalled from the earlier discussion of Clemente's (1973) work, the publication records of 2,205 holders of the Ph.D. in sociology were examined for the period 1940 through 1970. The predictive efficiency of six independent variables -- sex, age at Ph.D., years between bachelor's degree and Ph.D., age at first publication, publication before Ph.D., and quality of department of doctoral training -- were assessed in a regression analysis designed to account for variations in productivity. Clemente's (1973:409) findings indicated that only age at first publication, and publication before Ph.D. exert important independent effects upon productivity. The four remaining variables appeared to have considerably less impact upon publication productivity than was previously assumed (cf. Sturgis and Clemente, 1973:175).

Productivity has therefore been linked with a variety of characteristics: rate of educational progress, early publication activity, eminent sponsors, student-faculty ratios, chronological age, age at Ph.D., professional age, status-rank of Ph.D. department, and sex. Although findings are mixed, the variable of publication prior to Ph.D. stands out as the most significant predictor of future productivity.

Summary

If anything can be said of the studies reviewed here, it is that they are, for the most part, relatively atheoretical. As Clemente (1973:409) noted, after reviewing a similar set of literature, one becomes increasingly aware of a general lack of continuity in this area of research. Although numerous data have been reported,[5] the findings have not been cumulative but rather, have been ambiguous and often contradictory. Clemente further states:

> The failure of most studies to test hypotheses of even an ad hoc nature is at once a cause and a consequence of the limited sociological theory relating to scientific productivity. Because little headway has been made in linking emperical findings together, it has been difficult to generate testable hypotheses. And because few hypotheses have been tested, the development of a fertile explanatory scheme has been stultified (1973:409-410).

The following chapter is devoted to the construction of a theoretical frame of reference from which testable hypotheses can be derived.

FOOTNOTES

1. This discussion of departmental rankings and prestige draws heavily from the works of Cartter (1966), Roose and Andersen (1970), and Grimes et al., (1978).

2. See Keniston (1959), Cartter (1966), and Roose and Andersen (1970) for the resultant rankings of the Keniston study. See Abbott (1973) for a discussion of changing departmental ranks between 1966 and 1970.

3. See Shamblin (1970) for an interesting critique of the Knudsen and Vaughan (1969) effort. Among other things, Shamblin (1970:156) concluded that analyses such as the Knudsen and Vaughan (1969) investigation can have an over-all detrimental influence upon the development of a "creative and open discipline."

4. Findings in this area are somewhat ambiguous: some argue that there is a relationship between productivity and prestige (Solomon, 1972), while others suggest that this is not the case (Solomon and Walters, 1975). However, most scholars agree that productivity is at least one important variable in determining the prestige of an individual scientist or a department (cf. Mahoney, 1976:79-107).

5. Indeed, numerous studies of the general variety reviewed here have been published. In fact, the number is so great that not all of them could be explicitly discussed within the scope of this work. For further examples see Wanderer (1966), Crane (1976), Oromaner (1968), Glenn and Weiner (1969), Lin and Nelson (1969), Glenn (1971), Ben-David (1971), Lin (1974), and Wilkie and Allen (1975). For an interesting discussion of attaining academic appointments see Lewis (1975:109-146), and for a review of graduate socialization see Mahoney (1976:34-65). See Reynolds and Reynolds (1970) for several relevant readings in the sociology of sociology.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Introduction

In his discussion of the concept "organizational set," Gross (1970:25) suggested that groups of organizations, like groups of people, are differentiated in terms of prestige. Following Caplow (1964:201-208), Gross noted that every organization belongs to a number of such sets, each of which consists of at least two or more organizations of the same type. In order to comprise a set, member organizations must perform similar tasks, and be visible to one another such that comparisons can be made. "Comparison," according to Caplow (1964:202), "is the essential function of an organizational set, and every set generates a prestige order that is recognized by participants and usually by an outside audience as well." This basic observation provides the point of departure for the formal elaboration of a theory of rural sociological prestige and its implications (cf. Solomon and Walters, 1975).

To briefly elaborate, Gross (1970:25) further suggests that this "prestige ordering" manifests important consequences for all of the organizations within a particular set. Simply put, the higher an organization is in the prestige system, the more influence it can bring to bear on the

formation of standards of achievement by which prestige within the set is evaluated (cf. Thiessen and Lutcovich, 1970). Importantly, and as pointed out earlier, "standards" of achievement in the academic setting are generally associated with one's publications, which are to a large extent controlled by the editors and referees from within the highest strata of the sociological prestige system (cf. Crane, 1976). In this regard, following Stinchcombe (1975:58), there exists an "exchange system" between the members of the highest ranking departments in the discipline, whose managers are represented by the editors and referees of major sociological journals "who produce certified symbols of science for the vita."

Drawing primarily from Stinchcombe (1975), and from Gross (1970), the remainder of this chapter is devoted to the formulation of a theoretical frame of reference within which the phenomena of rural sociological prestige, mobility, and productivity can be explained. For this task, Claude Levi-Strauss' "structuralist" theory will be integrated with Gross' concept of organizational set.[1]

Rural Sociology From A Structural Perspective

Drawing primarily from the works of Levi-Strauss,[2] Stinchcombe (1975) portrayed the discipline of sociology as a system of exchange, wherein students correspond to individuals of low status and power who must be "placed" in other departments. Further, job offers were conceptualized

as "material goods" exchanged, on the one hand, to indicate mutual respect, and on the other hand, to improve each exchanging organization's material positions. As well, scientific papers were described by Stinchcombe (1975:57) as "symbols exchanged."

These observations were based on Levi-Strauss' fundamental notion that institutionalized systems of exchange rest on a double set of distinctions. As Stinchcombe (1975: 57) explains, the first distinction centers on the idea that those who can or must exchange must be distinguished from those who cannot. As an example, Stinchcombe points to tribal kinship systems, wherein boundaries of endogamy must be clearly defined. Secondly, the units or organizations which must or can exchange must be distinguished from each other such that at least one can be seen as "lacking something the other can furnish..." Again, Stinchcombe relies upon kinship systems for his example. Specifically, it is noted that in such systems the exogamous unit that needs a wife must be clearly distinguished from the group eligible to supply one.

The actual object of exchange, however, must be of value and have an agreed cultural definition. As Levi-Strauss has theorized, material goods first appear in a natural form, but are transformed by a social group within the exchange system into objects which can be used in ritual exchanges (cf. Leach, 1970:15-32). The most notable example used by Levi-Strauss in this regard focuses on the

raw/cooked distinction of food. Specifically, material goods in the form of food first occur in a natural state as "raw." But, when cooked by a unit within the system, the "raw" items are transformed into "food" which can be ritually exchanged (cf. Stinchcombe, 1975:57). Thus, a socially insignificant object is transformed into a socially significant object via social processes.

For sociology, exogamous units can be conceptualized as departments in need of a specific object, and consequently as departments seeking an individual who has been transformed into a culturally valued item. From this perspective Stinchcombe (1975:58) describes the graduate student as "a student of a certain descent..." or as having a specific "specialization" by way of "apprenticeship" and "sponsorship" within the system. Stinchcombe elaborates:

> Raw creativity in a wide variety of fields does not produce a social object which can "fill a slot" in the normatively defined needs of other departments. The discomfort of students who find they have to be either a theorist or a sociologist of education or a social psychologist or a methodologist is a reflection of this need for them to be related to the normative definition of the needs of other exogamous groups (1975:58).

The graduate student is thus transformed through the rituals of education and training from raw material into an exchangable student of a specific lineage that can then be offered to other lineages as being "distinct from what they already have" (Stinchcombe, 1975:58). As well, search committees will look for someone in an area who is currently making

another department "famous." Specifically, they attempt to attract "the best student of Robert K. Merton or Otis Dudley Duncan or Talcott Parsons, rather than a sociology of science student or a quantitative stratification student or a theorist at the most general level" (Stinchcombe, 1975:60).

It should be noted here that the ideas suggested by Stinchcombe fit well with Gross' (1970:26) summary of the literature on organizational sets. Briefly, according to Gross, the premises underlying the concept of organization set suggest that (1) nearly every organization belongs to a set of organizations which generate a prestige hierarchy easily recognized by both participants and outsiders; and (2) organizations belong to a number of such sets with some sets being more important than others but having within each a distinct prestige ordering; and (3) organizational sets can easily be recognized as being composed of organizations that are visible to one another, share a common prestige order, engage in similar activities, and have personnel many of whom are functionally interchangeable. Moreover (4), the prestige of an organization influences inter-organizational relations in that the most prestigious groups have influence over the less prestigious groups. As stated earlier, they formulate the very standards by which prestige is evaluated and obtain a greater share of resources from sources external to the set. Therefore, they fare better in the recruiting process and in the overall exchange

of personnel since they can "bargain" from a more favorable position. Indeed, they can bargain for new personnel by offering more prestige in exchange for less money, security, or authority than their less prestigious counterparts.

Finally (5), the process of determining prestige has a direct bearing on organizational goals. As Gross states:

> If an organization can appeal to a professional audience for resources, then its goals will be oriented toward meeting existing professional standards. However, if it is dependent upon favorable opinions by non-expert groups for financial support, then it must bid for prestige by visible symbols of performance. When an organization has to appeal to both professional and lay standards to quality, conflict is built into the system, as in the teaching-research problem of universities. These conflicts can lead to a persistent seesawing between different goals addressed to different audiences (1970:26).

Drawing from the discussion presented thus far, one could hypothesize that, since they perform very similar tasks, and since they are highly visible to one another, rural sociology departments are differentiated in terms of prestige. Because comparison has been reported as the essential function of an organizational set, it might further be hypothesized that comparisons are made via the "certified symbols of science." Moreover, the above is easily related to the entry and interchange of personnel from one sociology department to another. In this respect, the exchange of job offers is closely related to the exchange of graduate students. For example, the production of a job offer is similar to cooking a "ritual meal," for which reciprocation is

expected to come about "in the long run rather than immediately, especially by a reciprocal job offer when the time comes." As Stinchcombe elaborates:

> The core of the meaning of the system is that it represents a way for a department to reaffirm the value of other departments, to recognize what kind of lineage they are, and to express a normatively valid need for the lineage to which the offer is made (1975:58).

This reciprocality therefore validates the status of both departments when students are freely exchanged. Departments of low status lineages are excluded from this form of reciprocality since their students are generally not hired by departments of a high prestige lineage (cf. Berelson, 1960; Sibley, 1963; Crane, 1970; Gross, 1970). Such departments are left to exchange with similar low status lineages, although during times of a tight academic market, lesser ranked departments could expect to attract students from high prestige institutions.

It should be noted again that in the academic system publications often play the major role in determining the prestige or status of a department (cf. Solomon, 1972; Grimes et al., 1978). Thus, the scientific article is a form of certification indicating that a "product" or "line" may be placed on a vita as a serious symbol of the worth of an individual and of his or her lineage. This certification distinguishes the competence of lineages and is especially crucial for defining specific boundaries both within the discipline and for disciplines outside the initial organiza-

tional set. This system, according to Stinchcombe (1975), is "strongly" bounded, and can be further illustrated by Gross' (1970) recent findings on the academic mobility of faculties of the top 20 sociology departments:

> Of the Ph.D. faculty members teaching in the top 20, 167 out of the total 347, or 48 percent of the Ph.D.'s received their degrees from departments rated among the top five -- Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and Michigan. As for these top five departments, 73 percent of the Ph.D.'s on their faculties obtained degrees from their own or other top five departments (1970:26).

The notion of an exchange between high ranking academic lineages can further be illustrated by the fact that Gross (1970) discovered that among the members of the top 20 graduate sociology departments who earned Ph.D.'s prior to 1960, 31 out of a total of 229, or less than 14 percent, earned degrees from departments outside the top 20 institutions. Moreover, of the top 20 faculty members earning Ph.D.'s between 1960 and 1965, only 16 out of a total of 118 (again, less than 14 percent), earned non-top 20 degrees. Thus, the system of exchange between high status sociological lineages can be seen as fairly stable over time, and the obvious boundaries between the various groups are rather clear.

One further academic ritual serves to assert the various boundaries thus far discussed. This ritual, according to Stinchcombe (1975:59), is the annual professional meeting. Attached to this ritual is both a formal system for exchanging students -- the placement service -- and a

system for exchanging certification of professional papers -- the various sessions. As Stinchcombe states:

> There is also formal representation of the two sorts of lineages, namely specialties and departments. The governing bodies of the exchange ritual are carefully balanced by specialty and by what is euphemistically called regional representation, but is actually departmental. Subsystems of exchange of scientific papers ("sessions") are set up along the lines of specialties, and the lineages have "Chicago breakfasts," "Hopkins parties," "Berkeley dinners" and so on. The exchange of job offers is partly set up at the convention as well, as people who meet in the powerful committees politely inquire of each other whether they might be willing to move (1975:59)

The definition of the boundaries is therefore the agreement to exchange students, job offers, and scholarly papers, as well as to agree to be "incompetent" across disciplinary boundaries to preserve the integrity of the exchange system.

To reiterate, rural sociology departments can be conceptualized as belonging to distinct organizational sets or lineages, which are similar in their tasks, and highly visible to one another. Because of their high visibility, via scholarly journals and professional meetings, these sets establish prestige systems by way of comparison. The prestige of a lineage is reaffirmed through the exchange of job offers and graduate students, who are seen as valued cultural items created through the ritual process of training. As in tribal kinship systems, only lineages of the same status are eligible for such exchanges. The boundaries of the various lineages are rather strong, and are defined

as the agreement to exchange valued items (students, job offers, and papers.)

The Implications of Prestige Boundaries

If prestige orders are generated via subjective comparisons of the various lineages, one would expect subjective assessments of rural sociology departments to correlate highly with objective measures of rural sociological prestige. Moreover, if only lineages of the same rank are eligible for reciprocal exchange, one would expect that the rank of an individual's Ph.D. granting department would be at the same level as the rank of his hiring department. As well, if lineages or sets are actually comprised of organizations of the same type, which perform similar tasks, one would expect a differentiation of lineages based on publication activities alone. That is, among other things, members of more productive departments will socialize or train students in the art of publication, and this activity will be seen as positive by other lineages or organizations of the same status or type. Consequently, the graduate student is seen as a "valued item" which will enhance the "material positions" of the hiring group. On the other hand, students who are not trained in the publication ritual, but who are trained primarily as teachers, will be seen as valued items by very different lineages, and could expect problems of resocialization if hired by a "publish or perish" department. The reverse, of course, would be true for the "producer" who

was hired primarily to teach, since the reward structure of the hiring department would differ somewhat from that which he or she had been socialized to expect (cf. Cole and Cole, 1976). This phenomenon could possibly bring about undue stress for lesser status departments that hired students from prestigious lineages during times of a tight academic market. Such an assertion is based on the assumption that there is an association between publication activity and prestige, and represents an example of the consequences of crossing lineage boundaries.

The above discussion brings forth the question of status shifts among academic departments (cf. Abbott, 1973). For example, it might be assumed that status shifts would come about in two possible ways: (1) increased publication by a departmental staff or (2) the hiring of prestige faculty from highly ranked lineages (either established faculty or their descendents). As pointed out above, both methods present problems to the hiring department when reward structures are significantly different. Thus, when the rank of an individual department changes significantly over time, it is the result of a restructured reward system and not necessarily the consequence of an influx of "producers" or other academic types into the setting. Changes in the reward structure, however, depend primarily upon the individuals within departments who are in positions to make such decisions. These individuals assume influential positions through attrition, or they may be brought into the

system from without for just such restructuring purposes. In either case, the decision to reformulate reward structures undoubtedly comes about when enough descendents of a particular lineage are present within a setting thus redistributing the balance of consensus for the entire group.

Such an argument is not incompatible with Kuhn's (1970) metasystem for analyzing the status of academic fields. As Ritzer (1975:156) summarizes, a science at any given point in time is dominated by a specific paradigm (or lineage). Normal science, for example, is a period of accumulation of knowledge in which scientists work on, and expand, the dominant paradigm. Such work inevitably spawns anomalies, or things that are unexplainable within the existing paradigm. As these anomalies mount, a crisis stage is reached, which may end in a revolution wherein the reigning paradigm is overthrown and a new one takes its place. Thus a new paradigm is born and the stage is set for the cycle to repeat itself.

In contrast, a reward structure remains stable until anomalies arise. That is, it remains stable until members of a different and distinct lineage come to dominate a department and begin to question the distribution of rewards and the criteria upon which such rewards are based. A crisis stage ensues, and eventually revolution, and subsequently a new reward structure is established which is primarily based on the criteria of the dominant lineage.[3]

From the above it is not difficult to envision how

hiring across boundaries might influence the ranking of a particular academic department, but again it should be noted that, it is the eventual restructuring of the reward system, not only the influx of other lineages, that cause status shifts. Such an influx of a distinct lineage is a necessary but not altogether sufficient cause of such status changes.

The above discussion lends itself, as well, to the explanation of why younger departments (i.e., chronologically younger) are often more productive and prestigious than older departments. Younger faculty members are more closely in tune to the dominant paradigms via more recent socialization. As well, younger professionals have yet to attain either tenure or recognition, and thus strive for both through the publication process. Such publications it may be recalled, can be seen as establishing the "worth" of an individual or his or her lineage.

Moreover, productive departments (i.e., high prestige departments) exchange with departments which perform similar tasks (publish), and thus it is expected that newly acquired faculty members will conform to the reward structure, which is essentially the same for both the department of origin and the department of destination (in an ideal academic market). The case is similar for those socialized into different reward structures, and this is what keeps the prestige system "generally" stable.

From the above it should not be construed that "older"

faculties are neither productive nor prestigious. Rather, it is to suggest that such individuals are "established," and perhaps produce fewer overall publications, but their fewer publications may very well be of an extremely high quality (cf. Zuckerman, 1967). Moreover, these individuals are perhaps those faculty members who "draw" quality graduate students to the department, and therefore spend a good deal of time in "socialization" and "supervisory" activities.

Summary and General Hypotheses

Although several informal hypotheses have been suggested throughout the preceeding discussion, it seems appropriate at this point to state these hypotheses in a more formal manner. The following discussion is devoted to this task.

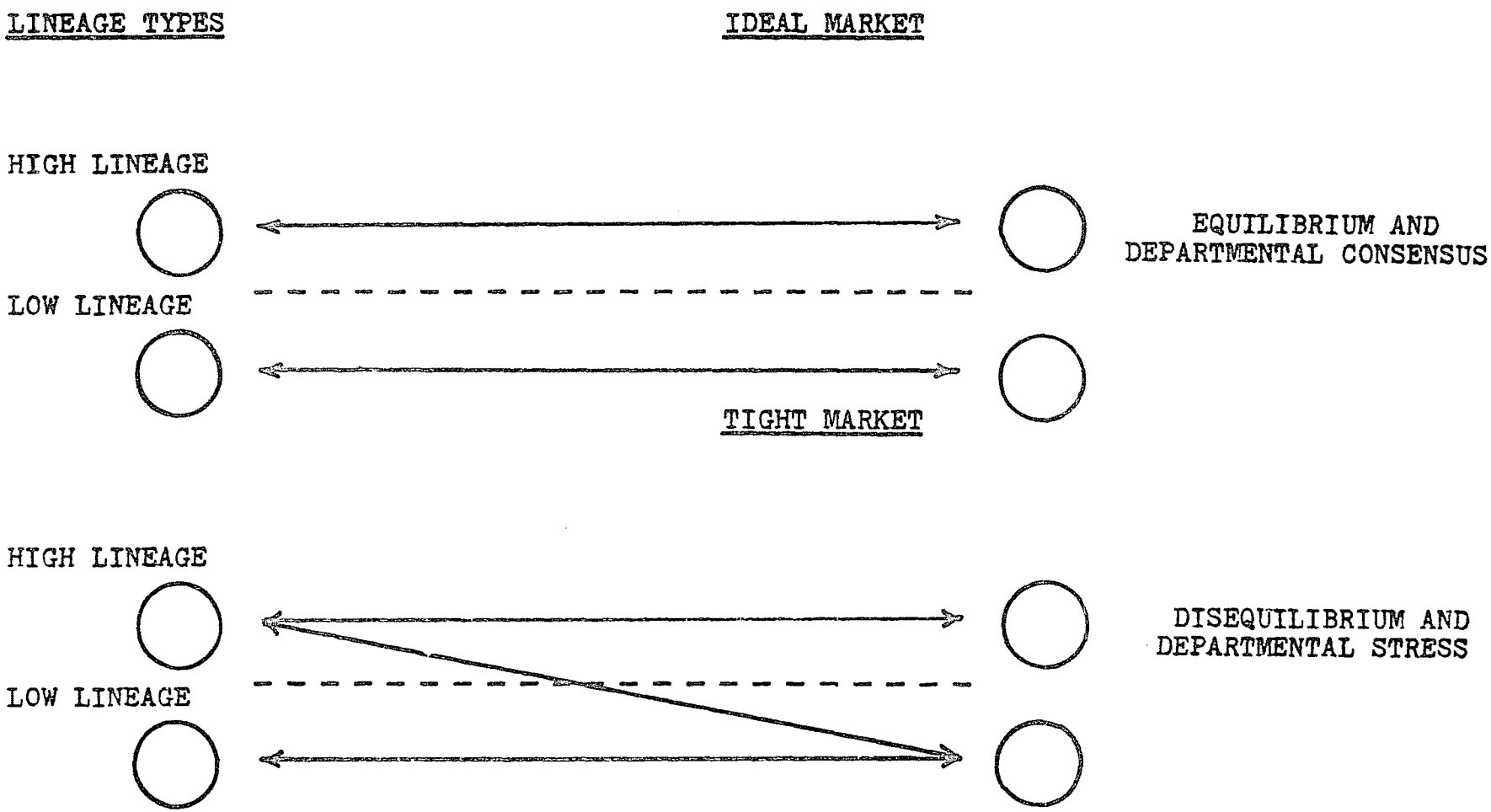
From the above, it follows that, subjective assessments of departmental prestige will correlate closely with objective measures of prestige. As well, mobility patterns will not cross lineage boundaries during times of an ideal academic market, but such boundaries will be crossed when such a market is "tight." Although a difficult hypothesis to test, the crossing of such boundaries will result in "stress" for lesser ranking lineages exchanging with higher prestige lineages. This is hypothesized to be the result of significantly different reward structures. Moreover, high prestige lineages will differ significantly in their structural characteristics when compared with departments of lower

lineages. Such factors as departmental size, student-faculty ratios, departmental age, and measures of socialization (i.e., the productivity of graduates), and departmental rank (subjective) will therefore account for variations in the "tasks" performed by departments (publication).

Figure 1 graphically portrays the above propositions. The double headed arrows depict an open exchange between lineages at each prestige level when the market is ideal (i.e., jobs are plentiful). The double line represents the boundary between the two types of lineages portrayed, and the single headed arrow depicts the crossing of the boundary during a period of an academic tight market, which results in stress for the lesser prestigious lineage. The initial hypotheses to be tested in this investigation are as follows:

> Hypothesis 1: The higher the subjective ranking of a rural sociology department, the higher departmental productivity, and consequently, the higher the objective ranking of the department.
>
> Hypothesis 2: The higher the rank of the department of the doctorate, the higher the rank of the department of employment.
>
> Hypothesis 3: Lineage boundaries will more likely be crossed during times of a tight academic market, and the direction of such crossings will be from higher ranked departments to departments of lesser rank.
>
> Hypothesis 4: The higher the faculty-graduate student ratio, the higher the rank, and consequently, the greater the productivity of the department.
>
> Hypothesis 5: The younger the faculty, the higher the rank, and consequently, the greater the productivity of the department.

FIGURE 1. Exchange Between Lineages Of Differing Prestige During Two Stages Of An Academic Market



Hypothesis 6: The stronger a particular lineage within a departmental system, the greater its influence on graduate student socialization, and departmental reward structures.

The variables to be used for testing the above hypotheses, and the general methodology to be employed in this study, are described in detail in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Mullins (1973:250-269) for a discussion of structural theory and its current status in sociology. Also see Leach (1970) and Paz (1970) for an "interpretation" of the major works of Levi-Strauss.

2. The theoretical discussion presented here draws heavily from Stinchcombe (1975), Levi-Strauss (1963a, 1963b, 1966, 1969a, 1969b, 1974), Leach (1970), and Gross (1970).

3. The above discussion is suggestive of the typology offered by Horowitz (1970:340-370), wherein sociologists are categorized as either "mainliners" or "marginals."

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four principal sections. The first section contains a description of the methodology used for determining the subjective rankings of rural sociology departments, and the weights to be used in constructing a rural publication index. The second section is devoted to a description of the prccedures employed in gathering data to be used for constructing objective indicators of departmental prestige. Section three contains a discussion of the methods used for gathering data appropriate for testing hypotheses of individual mobility. Finally, the procedures used in gathering data for testing hypotheses of departmental productivity are discussed in section four.

Subjective Rankings

The Sample. Following Cartter (1966), and Roose and Andersen (1970), the author used a mail questionnaire to obtain subjective assessments of rural departmental rankings. For this effort, the 364 active members employed at U.S. Universities listed in the Rural Sociological Society's most recent membership directory (1976-1977) were used as

the sampling frame. Questionnaires were sent to each of 364 active members on March 1, 1978. Postcards were prepared as "reminders" and were sent to respondents who had neglected to return their questionnaires two weeks after they were mailed. By March 31, 182 completed questionnaires (50 percent) had been returned. In all, 230 or 63 percent of the questionnaires were eventually returned. Twenty questionnaires were returned after the March 31st cut-off date, and 28 were unusable. Thus, departmental rankings and publication weights are based on 50 percent of the sampled population, which was found to approximate those who did not return questionnaires on several relevant variables. Specifically, the average age of those responding was 47 years, while the mean age of nonrespondents was 46 years. Those responding had an average professional age of 15 years, and nonrespondents had a mean professional age of 11 years. Again, of those responding to the questionnaire, 47 percent were professors, 31 percent associate professors, and 15 percent assistant professors. The academic rank of nonrespondents were 48 percent, 24 percent, and 28 percent respectively. Slightly more than six percent of those responding were females, while females made up 12 percent of the nonresponsive group. The final sample is believed to be fairly representative of the population under study, which was selected due to its assumed knowledge of and interest in rural sociology.

The Survey Instrument. The questionnaire used to gather data comprised two parts. The first part of the questionnaire addressed the areas of academic and biographical background of respondents. The second part was directed primarily toward the comparative evaluation of rural sociology departments.

The departmental evaluation section asked respondents for ratings concerning: (1) the quality of the graduate faculty of a department, and (2) the effectiveness of the doctoral program (cf. Roose and Andersen, 1970:4).

The item concerned with the "quality of graduate faculty" was identical with that used by both Cartter and Roose and Andersen with one change. Specifically, the term rural sociology was used in place of your field in the question:

> Circle the number under the term that corresgra- onds most closely to your judgement of the ins- graduate faculty in rural sociology at each institution listed. Consider only the scholarly competence and achievements of the present faculty.

The terms the respondents were to choose from were: (1) "Distinguished," (2) "Strong," (3) "Good," (4) "Adequate," (5) "Marginal," (6) "Not sufficient for doctoral training," and (7) "Insufficient information."

The item used to assess the effectiveness of rural doctoral programs was essentially the same as that used by Cartter (1966), and Roose and Andersen (1970), but again was modified to stress rural departmental effectiveness:

> Circle the number below the term that corresponds most closely to the way you would rate the institutions listed if you were selecting a graduate school to work for a doctorate in rural sociology today. Take into account the accessibility of the faculty and its scholarly competence, the curricula, the instructional and research facilities, the quality of graduate students, and other factors that contribute to the effectiveness of the graduate program.

The terms from which the respondents were to choose included: (1) "Extremely attractive," (2) "Attractive," (3) "Acceptable," (4) "Not attractive," and (5) "Insufficient information."

The departments included in the questionnaire were selected from the listing of rural departments in the 1976-1977 Rural Sociological Society Directory, and the 1977 Guide To Graduate Departments of Sociology. Programs not offering the Ph.D. were eliminated from the final list, which was presented to respondents in alphabetical order. The final list included 25 departments, and is presented in Table 5. This list contains all U.S. departments offering the Ph.D. in sociology, and which offered course work or a specialty in the area of rural sociology as of 1977.

A numerical weight was assigned to each term describing the quality of faculty and the effectiveness of the program. From these, the average scores for each question for each department at each of the listed institutions were calculated. Those indicating "insufficient information" were eliminated from the calculations of the final score, and the score of "0" was given to those answering "not

TABLE 5. Twenty-five Ph.D. Granting Departments Of Sociology Offering Course Work Or Specialties In Rural Sociology, 1977

University of Connecticut
Cornell University (Rural)
University of Florida
University of Georgia
University of Illinois (Urbana)
Iowa State University
Kansas State University
University of Kentucky
Louisiana State University
University of Maryland
Michigan State University
University of Minnesota
Mississippi State University
University of Missouri (Columbia)
University of Nebraska (Lincoln)
North Carolina State University
Ohio State University
Pennsylvania State University
St. Louis University
South Dakota State University
Texas A & M University
Utah State University
Vanderbilt University
Washington State University
University of Wisconsin

sufficient for doctoral training" and "not attractive." Thus, final scores for the quality of faculty question could have ranged from a high of 5.00 for a department with a graduate faculty that all raters ranked as "distinguished" to a low of .00 for a department that all raters considered not sufficient for doctoral training. Likewise, scores for the effectiveness of a rural doctoral program theoretically ranged from a high of 3.00 (extremely attractive) to a low of .00 (not attractive).

Publication Weights. Respondents were also asked to assign weights to various forms of sociological publications in accordance with their judgement of the average importance of their contributions to the rural field. Following Glenn and Villemez (1970), and Christensen and his coauthors (1977), the author selected articles in the American Sociological Review to be used as a standard, and the weight of 10 was arbitrarily assigned to this form of publication. Therefore, a type of publication judged by a respondent to be only half as important as an ASR article (on the average) would be assigned a weight of five, a type twice as important would be assigned a weight of 20, and so forth.

Unlike the Glenn-Villemez study, or the Christensen effort, however, specifically rural journals and publication outlets were included among the selections respondents could make, as well as various forms of publication outlets within a particular journal. Specifically, respondents

were asked to assign weights as described above to the outlets listed in Table 6. Thus, mean weights were derived for each component of a journal (articles, book reviews, comments, etc.), as well as each major form of publication (books, experiment station bulletins, etc.). The final weights were used to derive total publication scores for the rural departments under study.

Objective Measures Of Departmental Prestige

Following Grimes and his colleagues (1978), Rural Sociology, the official journal of the Rural Sociological Society, was selected by the author as the data base for the contruction of objective indices of rural sociological prestige. The final indices are based on all articles, brief articles, books reviewed, book reviews, comments, and indexed bulletins appearing in Rural Sociology from 1973 to 1977. Thus, 2786 authors' institutions were coded using the derived publication weights described above. Moreover, final measures are based on the institutional citations of all authors of a single publication. This method was selected since Nudelman and Landers (1972:9) argued that multiple authorships generate as much prestige for each author as does a single-authored paper. Also, in a recent study of rural sociological prestige, Grimes and his coauthors (1978:11) found that first-author only and all-author totals for all major articles appearing in Rural Sociology from 1936-1975 correlated at .97.

TABLE 6. Type Of Publication Outlet

American Sociological Review article
Books (which report original research findings, theoretical treatments, or syntheses of research findings)
Textbooks
Books (edited)
American Journal of Sociology article
Social Forces article
Rural Sociology article
Sociologia Ruralis article
Other refereed Sociology journal articles
Other refereed journal articles
Book Chapters
Experiment Station Bulletin
Extension Monograph
Research Note or "Brief Article"
Book Review
Commentary

Briefly, several different prestige measures were constructed from these data. The first consisted of simply the total number of times an institution was listed after an authors name in a publication appearing in the Journal multiplied by the weight of that type of publication as derived from the survey questionnaire. The second index was designed to control for faculty size, and consisted of a per-person productivity score for each of the selected departments. This measure was derived by dividing the total publication score by the number of faculty members for each department.

One very important measure of the quality of a graduate program is the quality of that program's product. Therefore, the third objective measure of departmental prestige consisted of the application of the total index of publication weights to the author's department of highest degree. Three additional indices were created which consisted of the total scores derived for departments on three important forms of publication outlet: Books, articles, and experiment station bulletins.

Mobility

The procedures used to obtain data for the identification of mobility patterns of rural sociologists consisted of a content analysis of the 1977 Guide to Graduate Departments of Sociology. For this effort, each of the 25 departments identified earlier as offering rural specialties or course

work, and who also offered the Ph.D. in sociology, were assigned the mean score determined for their faculty from the survey questionnaire. Then, each faculty member listed in the Guide who was employed at one of the 25 schools, and who was also a graduate of one of the 25 schools, was assigned the mean score for the department from which he or she received their highest degree. This procedure was followed for full-time faculty as well as those listed as part time or under the heading of "joint appointments." The cross-tabulation of these data (n=294), controlling for year of highest degree as a means for categorizing "tight" and "open" academic markets, was used to assess the mobility hypotheses. Moreover, product-moment correlations (Blalock, 1972:380) were used to assess the strength of the relationship between rank of school of highest degree and rank of department of current employment.

Predicting Productivity

Again, data derived from a content analysis of the 1977 Guide to Graduate Departments of Sociology were used for testing hypotheses of productivity. From the Guide the following measures were obtained for each of the 25 selected departments:

1) Total faculty size
2) Current graduate student enrollment
3) Number of total faculty from "rural" departments
4) Number of faculty from "top five" rural departments

5) Professional age of each rural faculty member

These data were used to construct graduate student-faculty ratios, rural-general faculty ratios, top five-other rural faculty ratios, and mean departmental age measures. These variables were subsequently used with subjective department scores in a multiple regression analysis to account for variations in faculty and graduate publication scores.

Summary

This chapter contains a description of the methods used to obtain data necessary for testing the hypotheses outlined in Chapter three of this study. The procedures included a sampling of active members of the Rural Sociological Society, who provided assessments of rural departments and publication outlets. The derived publication weights were then used in a content analysis of five volumes of Rural Sociology to provide an overall index score for 25 rural sociology departments. Several indices were constructed, which included total scores, per-person productivity scores, graduate scores, and scores for books published, articles, and bulletins. Scores were then used in a series of analyses designed to assess patterns of mobility and productivity. Cross-tabulations, product-moment correlations, and multiple regression analysis are eventually employed to assess relationships between ranks of school of highest degree and department of current employment, and variations in prestige and productivity.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Introduction

The results of this investigation are presented in the order of the required methodological procedures described in the preceeding chapter. First, a discussion is presented of the findings of the survey, which includes a presentation of the final subjective rankings of the rural departments studied, as well as a discussion of the final weights assigned to the various rural publication outlets described previously. Next, the results of the analysis of the five volumes of Rural Sociology are presented, including a discussion of the correlations found among the subjective and objective indices created for this study. That section is followed by a presentation of the relationships found between the ranks of Ph.D. granting departments and the rankings of departments of current employment for rural sociologists. General mobility patterns for rural sociologists are also discussed, as well as the influence of a tight academic market on these patterns. Finally, the results of the analysis of the productivity and prestige predictors are discussed.

Subjective Indices of Rural Departmental Quality

The results of the analysis of the survey data on rural

departmental rankings are presented in Table 7. Mean scores for each department are presented in parenthesis after each university listed. As can easily be seen, a good deal of similarity exists between the final order of the twenty-five departments on each of the two items. Indeed, for the first five departments on both measures only one difference may be noted: for the graduate faculty item, Iowa State University is ranked fifth behind Michigan State University, and on the effectiveness of the graduate program variable, Iowa State moves ahead of Michigan State to fourth place. Importantly, however, the differences in the mean scores for both departments on both items is almost nonexistent (.01 in both instances), suggesting a significant degree of agreement among respondents on the ranking of rural programs in terms of both quality of faculty and their effectiveness for the very top institutions in the rural subdiscipline. Thus, as a method for distinguishing between broad categories of departments the mean scores appear fairly effective. However, as a method for distinguishing between specific departments within a category, another approach may be more appropriate.

The second five departments are ranked identically on both the faculty and program effectiveness items, and it is only among the final fifteen departments that any differences are detected. Again, however, differences in the rankings of the final fifteen schools do not change by more than three places on either of the two items. It is therefore not too surprising that the correlation between the two

TABLE 7. Ranking of 25 Rural Sociology Departments on Two Subjective Indices of Quality

Rated Quality of Graduate Faculty		Rated Effectiveness of Graduate Program	
1. University of Wisconsin	(4.61)	1. University of Wisconsin	(2.59)
2. Cornell University	(4.33)	2. Cornell University	(2.46)
3. Pennsylvania State University	(4.03)	3. Pennsylvania State University	(2.18)
4. Michigan State University	(3.87)	4. Iowa State University	(1.96)
5. Iowa State University	(3.86)	5. Michigan State University	(1.95)
6. University of Kentucky	(3.48)	6. University of Kentucky	(1.73)
7. University of Missouri (Columbia)	(3.44)	7. University of Missouri (Columbia)	(1.65)
8. Washington State University	(3.37)	8. Washington State University	(1.61)
9. Texas A & M University	(3.31)	9. Texas A & M University	(1.52)
10. University of Illinois (Urbana)	(3.19)	10. University of Illinois (Urbana)	(1.51)
11. Louisiana State University	(3.17)	11. Ohio State University	(1.43)
12. Ohio State University	(3.13)	12. North Carolina State University	(1.32)
13. North Carolina State University	(3.07)	13. Louisiana State University	(1.31)
14. University of Minnesota	(3.03)	14. University of Minnesota	(1.28)
15. Mississippi State University	(2.37)	15. University of Florida	(1.01)
16. Kansas State University	(2.28)	16. University of Georgia	(0.84)
17. University of Georgia	(2.27)	17. Kansas State University	(0.83)
18. University of Florida	(2.23)	18. Mississippi State University	(0.79)
19. Utah State University	(2.02)	19. University of Connecticut	(0.78)
20. University of Maryland	(2.01)	20. University of Maryland	(0.74)
21. University of Connecticut	(2.00)	21. Vanderbilt University	(0.71)
22. University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	(1.74)	22. Utah State University	(0.70)
23. Vanderbilt University	(1.68)	23. University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	(0.64)
24. South Dakota State University	(1.34)	24. St. Louis University	(0.59)
25. St. Louis University	(1.32)	25. South Dakota State University	(0.37)

r = .981

indices is .98, meaning the two rankings share 96 percent of their variances.

From these findings it is obvious that the rural sociologists sampled strongly agree upon which departments are the most effective with their graduate programs and upon which have the highest quality faculty. These two properties appear to be analytically inseparable as the high agreement between the perceived quality of a faculty and that faculty's effectiveness in conducting graduate training (r=.98) indicates their extreme conceptual similarity. The question of the relationship between these subjective assessments and a proposed objective measure of quality or effectiveness, however, remains an empirical question at this point. However, the application of the publication outlet index to the five volumes of Rural Sociology and the resultant objective measures may provide an indication of whether the subjective items merely measure prestige, or, if indeed they do capture measures of departmental quality or effectiveness.

Rural Publication Weights

Table 8 contains the average weights assigned to the various types of publication outlets by the sample of rural sociologists. The actual number of respondents assigning a weight to a form of rural publication is indicated in parentheses after each of the noted mean values. Final weights are compared with the values suggested by Christensen and

TABLE 8. Weights of Types of Publications

Type of Publication	Mean Weight Assigned by Sample Of Rural Sociologists[a]	Suggested Weights Reported by Christensen Et Al.	Suggested Weights Reported by Glenn and Villemez
Books (Research and Theoretical Monographs)	17.14 (171)	17	30
Textbooks	12.60 (171)	--	15
Edited Books	9.52 (170)	11	10
Articles In:			
American Sociological Review	10.00 (182)	10	10
Rural Sociology	9.73 (172)	--	6
American Journal of Sociology	9.22 (171)	--	10
Social Forces	8.46 (171)	--	8
Sociologia Ruralis	8.00 (168)	--	--
Book Chapter	7.25 (169)	8	--
Other Sociology Journals	7.01 (169)	--	--
Experiment Station Bulletin	6.79 (171)	7	--
Other Refereed Journals	6.66 (168)	9	--
Extension Monographs	5.98 (170)	6	--
Research Note or Brief Article	5.36 (171)	--	--
Book Review	3.45 (171)	--	--
Comment	3.19 (170)	--	--

a The number in parentheses after the mean for each type of publication is the number of rural sociologists in the sample of 182 who assigned a weight to a type of publication.

his colleagues (1977), and by Glenn and Villemez (1970), in earlier studies of this variety.

The most important form of publication for rural sociologists appears to be the book, which was assigned an average weight of 17.14 points by 171 of the rural practitioners responding to the questionnaire. This value corresponds favorably with the findings of the Christensen study, but is considerably lower than the weight assigned by a sample of general sociologists in the Glenn-Villemez investigation. Two explanations may be given for this difference: (1) general sociologists place a greater emphasis on book publication than do rural sociologists, or (2) because there is an eight year difference between the Glenn-Villemez study, and the Christensen study and the current effort, there has been a decline in the perceived importance of the contributions of books to the field of sociology. Given that manuscript rejection is clearly the norm in the social sciences (Zuckerman and Merton, 1971), it may also be that the journal article has become the more prestigious and difficult form of publication to obtain, thus adding to the probability that article importance would increase at the expense of book weights over time. In any case, the value assigned to book publications by both the Christensen sample and the current sample is almost 50 percent less than that assigned by the Glenn-Villemez sample.

The average weights for textbooks and edited books more closely correspond to the findings of the earlier investiga-

tions, although the final weights suggested by the current sample of rural sociologists are slightly lower when compared with the findings of the other two studies. This finding is, however, in the direction of the explanation given for decline in average assigned importance for books in general.

Not unexpectedly, rural sociologists appear to place more importance on publications in Rural Sociology than do the sociologists sampled in the Glenn-Villemez study. Interestingly, publications in the American Journal of Sociology and Social Forces appear to carry the same amount of importance across subdisciplinary parameters, as the final weights derived from the current sample closely correspond with the weights of the Glenn-Villemez effort. Articles in these journals emerge as equally important contributions for all sociologists, which may be an artifact of the rather broad nature of the subject matter published in AJS and Social Forces when compared with the distinct rural focus of Rural Sociology.

Book chapters appear to receive corresponding values when the two rural samples are compared on this item, although the final weight for the Christensen sample is slightly higher than that for the present sample. Experiment station bulletins and extension monographs received comparable weights when the Christensen findings are compared with the current effort, but the average weight for "Other refereed journals" is considerably lower for the current

sample (6.66 compared with 9). This difference is no doubt an artifact of offering respondents a wider range of selection among specific outlets. That is, the value of this item for the Christensen study includes the respondents' assessment of the average importance of a Rural Sociology article, but this influence is more or less factored out by allowing the respondent to indicate the importance of such a publication in a separate item.

Comments and book reviews received the lowest average weights of all possible forms of publication. Since the other investigators failed to include these two components in their research designs, no comparisons are possible.

The findings of this portion of the present study indicate a certain amount of agreement among rural sociologists on the importance of certain types of rural publication outlets. After books, rural sociologists indicated that articles in Rural Sociology were the most important form of rural publication. A considerable decline in the importance of book publications was noted when findings were compared for the present study, the Christensen effort, and the Glenn-Villemez investigation. Rural sociologists were also found to assign higher weights to Rural Sociology publications when compared with general sociologists, while AJS and Social Forces articles were weighted similarly.

The mean values for the various types of publication outlets presented in Table 8 provided the weights necessary for constructing an objective measure of rural departmental

prestige and/or quality. Each weight was multiplied by the number of times an institution was listed after an author's name for each of the publication types appearing in Rural Sociology from 1972 through 1977. Thus, books reviewed in Rural Sociology for the five year period of the study were assigned the weight of 17.14, articles received the weight of 9.73, and so forth. The results of this procedure are presented below.

Objective Indices of Departmental Prestige

The results of the application of the publication index to the five volumes of Rural Sociology are presented in Table 9. Three rankings are presented: (1) the total publication score for each department; (2) the per-person productivity score for each department; and (3) a productivity score for the graduates of each department. Only the top thirty departments are listed in Table 9, but 157 U.S. and Canadian Universities were represented in the Journal for the five years studied.

Eighteen of the twenty-five rural departments selected for the subjective ranking procedures appear among the top thirty schools ranked in the total publication index column of Table 9. Importantly, the first sixteen departments listed were subjectively ranked by the sample of rural sociologists, meaning 64 percent of the subjectively ranked departments appear on the top twenty most productive list. In all, 72 percent of the subjectively ranked departments made the

Table 9. Ranking of 30 Sociology Departments on Three Objective Indices of Quality

Rank	Department	Total Index Score
1	University of Kentucky	1089.26
2	University of Wisconsin	906.23
3	Iowa State University	813.72
4	Pennsylvania State University	810.55
5	University of Illinois (Urbana)	411.88
6	Cornell University (Rural)	407.16
7	Texas A & M University	389.39
8	South Dakota State University	383.80
9	Michigan State University	371.10
10	Washington State University	324.23
11	Mississippi State University	318.88
12	North Carolina State University	309.78
13	Ohio State University	266.32
14	Louisiana State University	266.14
15	University of Georgia	264.00
16	University of Missouri (Columbia)	261.75
17	Auburn University	256.75
18	University of Connecticut	240.49
19	Purdue University	237.15
20	Virginia Polytechnical Institute	190.90
21	Clemson University	190.12
22	New Mexico State University	183.44
23	Utah State University	152.44
24	University of Virginia	149.38
25	Montana State University	142.59
26	West Virginia University	139.97
27	Stanford University	125.33
28	University of Arizona	125.29
29	University of Arkansas	118.99
30	Kansas State University	101.49

(To Be Continued)

(TABLE 9 Continued)

Rank	Department	Per-Person Productivity
1	South Dakota State University	63.96
2	University of Kentucky	41.89
3	Pennsylvania State University	33.77
4	Cornell University (Rural)	31.32
5	Iowa State University	30.64
6	New Mexico State University	30.57
7	Mississippi State University	24.52
8	Texas A & M University	22.90
9	Louisiana State University	19.01
10	University of Wisconsin	16.78
11	University of Illinois (Urbana)	15.25
12	University of Arkansas	14.87
13	Michigan State University	14.84
14	Washington State University	13.50
15	Auburn University	13.45
16	University of Georgia	13.20
17	Stanford University	11.39
18	University of Nevada (Reno)	11.31
19	University of Virginia	10.67
20	University of Missouri (Columbia)	10.06
21	North Carolina State University	9.99
22	West Virginia University	9.33
23	University of Connecticut	8.90
24	Utah State University	8.02
25	Virginia Polytechnical Institute	7.67
26	Purdue University	7.65
27	Ohio State University	7.19
28	University of Tennessee	5.82
29	University of North Dakota	5.52
30	University of Northern Iowa	5.40

(To Be Continued)

(TABLE 9 Continued)

Rank	Department	Graduate Productivity
1	University of Wisconsin	1064.95
2	Cornell University (Rural)	821.90
3	Iowa State University	816.52
4	Pennsylvania State University	642.50
5	Michigan State University	465.36
6	Louisiana State University	385.29
7	Ohio State University	376.43
8	University of Missouri (Columbia)	276.84
9	University of Chicago	253.65
10	Mississippi State University	253.63
11	University of Tennessee	243.57
12	Columbia University	237.80
13	University of Kentucky	229.25
14	University of Michigan	204.38
15	University of Minnesota	190.71
16	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	188.72
17	Harvard University	163.63
18	Washington State University	154.02
19	University of Florida	135.65
20	South Dakota State University	129.01
21	University of Illinois (Urbana)	121.06
22	Purdue University	119.63
23	University of Pennsylvania	115.11
24	University of Georgia	96.80
25	University of Oregon	93.16
26	University of Washington	90.85
27	Brown University	86.86
28	Duke University	84.42
29	University of Texas (Austin)	73.68
30	University of California, Berkeley	73.30

top thirty cut-off.

Interestingly, the seventeenth department appearing on the total productivity index, Auburn, was eliminated from the subjective ranking procedure because that department does not grant the Ph.D. in sociology. Auburn's appearance as the seventeenth most productive rural department suggests that the Ph.D. program in sociology may not necessarily be the only route to academic productivity or prestige.

While Auburn ranks seventeenth on the total productivity index in column 1, Harvard University ranks seventeenth on the graduate productivity measure in column 3 of Table 9. The fact that Harvard, U.C. Berkeley, Texas, Duke, Brown, and Chicago make the top thirty rankings in terms of graduate productivity suggests the importance of the "publications task" for graduates of these particular departments. It should be noted that each of these five departments were ranked in the Cartter (1966:42), and the Roose and Anderson (1970:68) studies, but none of them are listed in the total publications column for this investigation. Thus, graduates of these departments appear more prone to publishing in rural outlets than are graduates of distinctly rural programs. For example, graduates of Utah State, Texas A&M, Kansas State, and the University of Connecticut appear to be less likely to publish in rural outlets when compared with graduates of the five departments noted above, as none of these rural departments appear on the graduate productivity index. This finding may reflect the age of the various

programs noted. However, the University of Connecticut and Utah State are listed by Sibley (1963:65-67) as having conferred at least one doctoral degree prior to 1960. The remaining two programs are listed as having conferred at least one master's degree in the two year period 1957-59, and thus, should have fewer graduates actively publishing in professional journals.

Interestingly, the top five departments listed in the total index column include three of the top five departments found in both of the subjective rankings presented earlier. The sixth place department on the subjective lists (Kentucky) has moved to first place on the total index ranking, while Cornell, which ranked second subjectively, drops to sixth when ranked by the objective publication measure. All of the top five schools in the subjective rankings can be found among the first nine departments on the total publication index, and with only Missouri as an exception, all of the top ten departments determined by the subjective ranking procedures appear in the top ten of the total publication index.

South Dakota State University is ranked eighth objectively according to total publications, moving from twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth on the two subjective indices into the top ten objectively ranked departments. Surprisingly, when the per-person productivity column is inspected, it can be seen that South Dakota has moved to the number one position. This rapid movement up the prestige ladder may be an

artifact of a small faculty (n=6), meaning that larger departments might be at a disadvantage using this procedure. Simply put, if 50 percent of a six-person faculty published an article apiece during the five year period studied, their per-person productivity score would be 4.86 (3 x 9.73/6). However, if 50 percent of a 50 person department accomplished the same goal (each publishing an article apiece for the five year study period), their score would be the same as the smaller department's score (25 x 9.73/50=4.86). The larger department would have produced more total articles during the period studied (more than one article per issue of Rural Sociology), but would appear to be somewhat less productive by comparison. Importantly, the 25 articles produced by the larger faculty would provide an extremely visible criterion upon which other rural sociologists could compare departmental quality. This could account for South Dakota's poor showing on the two subjective indices, and would lend weight to Caplow's (1964:202) notion of "comparison" as the essential function of an organizational set in generating a recognized prestige order. Despite this anomaly, it should be noted that four of the top six schools determined by the other ranking procedures appear among the top five in the per-person productivity rankings.

It is interesting to note the differences between the scores of the top four departments listed in the total index column in Table 9, and the scores of the departments below the fourth position. Specifically, the University of

Illinois (the number five department) has a score almost 400 points less than Pennsylvania State (department number four). Four hundred index points are enough to rank a department in sixth or seventh place on this measure. This finding suggests that the total index score may discriminate between classes of departments even more accurately than the subjective measures presented in the preceeding section.

Turning to column 3 of Table 9, the graduate productivity index places the same departments in the first five positions as did the two subjective rankings. These findings suggest that there are an elite few departments in the rural subdiscipline, and that subjective assessments of the quality of a faculty and its effectiveness in training graduates are based, in part, on the performance of members socialized into this highly regarded lineage. An examination of the statistical correlations of the relationships between these indices, and among the various components of these objective measures, may provide evidence in support of the specific hypotheses presented earlier.

The Relationship Between Subjective and Objective Indices of Rural Departmental Prestige

The first hypothesis presented at the conclusion of Chapter III posited a strong association between subjective and objective indices of rural departmental prestige. A test of this hypothesis would require a statistically significant correlation between the indices described in the

preceeding sections. The product moment correlations among these indices, and among three additional publications measures, are presented in Table 10. It should be noted that the objective scores derived by the content analysis of Rural Sociology have been assigned to each of the 25 departments found on the subjective index. Therefore, except as noted, all correlations are based on 25 observations.

An inspection of Table 10 reveals a strong-positive association between both the faculty and program effectiveness scores and total departmental productivity (r=.70 and .71 respectively). Each of the correlations is significant, and the three indices share a common variance of approximately 50 percent. From this finding it may be concluded that departmental prestige (i.e. subjective evaluations) and departmental publication activities statistically overlap to such a degree that they may be used as a measure of the same phenomena. The hypothesis stating a strong-positive association between perceived departmental status and an objective measure receives substantial support from these findings.

Further inspection of Table 10 reveals only a modest correlation between per-person productivity values and the subjective evaluations of rural departments. The correlations (r=.27 for both measures) are not statistically significant, and less than eight percent of the variation is shared by these measures. This finding is not surprising given the discussion of this measure presented earlier.

The graduate-productivity index was found to correlate

TABLE 10. Correlations Among Indices And Book, Article And Bulletin Productivity Scores

	X 1	X 2	X 3	X 4	X 5	X 6	X 7	X 8
FACULTY SCORE X1	-	.981***	.701***	.270	.799***	.680***	.757***	.549**
PROGRAM SCORE X2		-	.711***	.274	.839***	.725***	.777***	.548***
DEPARTMENT PRODUCTIVITY X3			-	.678*** (.802)***	.674*** (.717)***	.612***	.688***	.955***
PER-PERSON PRODUCTIVITY X4				-	.378 (.496)***	.239	.299	.739***
GRADUATE PRODUCTIVITY X5					-	.693***	.732***	.522**
BOOK PRODUCTIVITY X6						-	.618**	.416*
ARTICLE PRODUCTIVITY X7							-	.478*
BULLETIN PRODUCTIVITY X8								-
$\bar{X}$	2.84	1.30	329.03	15.82	253.61	24.26	40.48	229.23
sd	.93	.61	293.78	15.33	296.26	23.63	44.11	228.32

* P =.01

** P =.001

*** P =.0001

a Coefficients in parenthesis are based on observations of 60 departments for graduate and per-person productivity, and 141 departments for department and per-person scores.

highly with both subjective indices of departmental prestige (r=.79 and .84), and both correlations are statistically significant. Moreover, both objective measures share approximately 70 percent of the variation with the two subjective rankings. This finding suggests that the task related performances of those socialized into particular lineages may provide important criteria upon which others base subjective assessments.

In order to gain additional insight into the relationships between prestige and productivity, some of the various components of the objective publication index have been isolated to provide an alternate means of ranking departments. For this portion of the investigation, books, textbooks, and edited book scores have been collapsed into a single category. As can be seen from Table 10, book productivity is strongly associated with perceived departmental quality (r=.68 and .72 respectively). Interestingly, the strongest correlations between a single component and the subjective measures are found between article publication scores and the subjective faculty and program effectiveness measures (r=.75 and .77). These various measures share about 60 percent of their variances.

Experiment station bulletin productivity seems to be the least likely component of the publication index to generate perceived departmental prestige. Although the relationship between the variables is significant, association between departmental bulletin productivity and prestige is

clearly lower than between article and book productivity and prestige. However, since experiment station bulletins are generally written for a lay audience, and are therefore less visible to the majority of rural sociologists when compared with books and articles, this finding is not too surprising.

As stated earlier, the correlations in Table 10 are based on 25 observations. However, it should be noted that the correlations in parentheses are based on the total number of departments appearing on the objective publication index after pair-wise deletions were made. The general pattern of relationships among the three variables (department productivity, per-person productivity, and graduate productivity) remains constant although the magnitude of the correlation coefficients increases slightly for each instance.

Table 11 contains a summary listing of the departments for each of the indices discussed thus far. Of particular interest here is the ranking of South Dakota State University on the per-person productivity index, the books index, the article index, and the bulletin publication index. As can be seen, South Dakota's publication index score is derived totally from bulletin publications. This finding supports the notion that articles and books produce more visibility for a department than several of the other forms of publication outlets.

With the per-person productivity score as the only exception, Wisconsin appears as either the first, second or third department on each index presented. Cornell is among

TABLE 11. Ranking of 25 Rural Sociology Departments On Six Publication Indices

Total Publication Indices Score			Per-Person Productivity Score		
1.	University of Kentucky	1089.26	1.	South Dakota State University	63.97
2.	University of Wisconsin	906.23	2.	University of Kentucky	41.89
3.	Iowa State University	813.72	3.	Pennsylvania State University	33.77
4.	Pennsylvania State University	810.55	4.	Cornell University (Rural)	31.32
5.	University of Illinois (Urbana)	411.88	5.	Iowa State University	30.64
6.	Cornell University (Rural)	407.16	6.	Mississippi State University	24.53
7.	Texas A & M University	389.39	7.	Texas A & M University	22.91
8.	South Dakota State University	383.80	8.	Louisiana State University	19.01
9.	Michigan State University	371.10	9.	University of Wisconsin	16.78
10.	Washington State University	324.23	10.	University of Illinois (Urbana)	15.25
11.	Mississippi State University	318.88	11.	Michigan State University	14.84
12.	North Carolina State University	309.78	12.	Washington State University	13.51
13.	Ohio State University	266.32	13.	University of Georgia	13.20
14.	Louisiana State University	266.14	14.	University of Missouri (Columbia)	10.07
15.	University of Georgia	264.00	15.	North Carolina State University	9.99
16.	University of Missouri (Columbia)	261.75	16.	University of Connecticut	8.91
17.	University of Connecticut	240.49	17.	Utah State University	8.02
18.	Utah State University	152.44	18.	Ohio State University	7.19
19.	University of Minnesota	92.22	19.	University of Minnesota	2.71
20.	University of Maryland	68.23	20.	University of Maryland	2.62
21.	Vanderbilt University	31.64	21.	Vanderbilt University	1.66
22.	Kansas State University	26.66	22.	Kansas State University	1.56
23.	University of Florida	19.97	23.	University of Florida	1.33
24.	University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	0	24.	University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	0
	St. Louis University	0		St. Louis University	0

(To Be Continued)

(TABLE 11 Continued)

Graduate Productivity Score			Books		
1.	University of Wisconsin	1064.95	1.	University of Wisconsin	87.60
2.	Cornell University (Rural)	821.90	2.	Pennsylvania State University	73.54
3.	Iowa State University	816.52	3.	Cornell University (Rural)	53.32
4.	Pennsylvania State University	642.50	4.	Michigan State University	46.88
5.	Michigan State University	465.36	5.	University of Kentucky	43.80
6.	Louisiana State University	385.28		Washington State University	43.80
7.	Ohio State University	376.43	7.	Vanderbilt University	31.64
8.	University of Missouri (Columbia)	276.84	8.	Louisiana State University	29.74
9.	Mississippi State University	253.63	9.	University of Illinois (Urbana)	26.66
10.	University of Kentucky	229.25		Utah State University	26.66
11.	University of Minnesota	190.71		University of Missouri (Columbia)	26.66
12.	Washington State University	154.02		Kansas State University	26.66
13.	University of Florida	135.65	13.	Iowa State University	19.04
14.	South Dakota State	129.01	14.	Mississippi State University	17.14
15.	University of Illinois (Urbana)	121.06		University of Georgia	17.14
16.	University of Georgia	96.80		University of Maryland	17.14
17.	University of Connecticut	44.01	17.	University of Connecticut	9.52
18.	North Carolina State University	38.70	18.	University of Minnesota	0
19.	Vanderbilt University	33.66		South Dakota State University	0
20.	University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	27.16		Texas A & M University	0
21.	Texas A & M University	23.31		North Carolina State University	0
22.	Utah State University	13.58		Ohio State University	0
23.	University of Maryland	0		University of Florida	0
	Kansas State University	0		University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	0
	St. Louis University	0		St. Louis University	0

To Be Continued

(TABLE 11 Continued)

Articles			Bulletins		
1.	Pennsylvania State University	155.68	1.	University of Kentucky	937.02
2.	University of Wisconsin	116.76	2.	Iowa State University	685.74
	Ohio State University	116.76	3.	University of Wisconsin	516.04
4.	Iowa State University	77.84	4.	Pennsylvania State University	448.14
	University of Georgia	77.84	5.	South Dakota State University	373.45
6.	Cornell University (Rural)	68.11	6.	Texas A & M University	339.50
	University of Illinois (Urbana)	68.11	7.	North Carolina State University	264.81
8.	Michigan State University	58.38	8.	Cornell University (Rural)	251.23
	University of Missouri (Columbia)	58.38		Mississippi State University	251.23
	University of Kentucky	58.38	10.	University of Illinois (Urbana)	230.86
11.	Washington State University	48.65	11.	Michigan State University	224.07
12.	Texas A & M University	29.19		University of Connecticut	224.07
13.	Louisiana State University	19.46	13.	Louisiana State University	203.70
	Mississippi State University	19.46	14.	Washington State University	196.91
	University of Minnesota	19.46	15.	University of Georgia	142.59
16.	University of Florida	9.73	16.	Ohio State University	122.22
	North Carolina State University	9.73	17.	Utah State University	115.43
17.	South Dakota State University	0	18.	University of Missouri (Columbia)	108.64
	University of Connecticut	0	19.	University of Minnesota	47.53
	Vanderbilt University	0	20.	University of Maryland	40.74
	University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	0	21.	University of Florida	6.79
	Utah State University	0	22.	Vanderbilt University	0
	University of Maryland	0		University of Nebraska (Lincoln)	0
	Kansas State University	0		Kansas State University	0
	St. Louis University	0		St. Louis University	0

the top five on five of the indices, Pennsylvania State is among the top five on each index, Michigan State on four of the indices, Iowa State is among the top five on seven, and Kentucky is among the top five on four indices. South Dakota State is among the top on two indices, and Illinois and Ohio State each make the top five on one index each. Thus, Wisconsin emerges as the leading rural department (cf. Grimes et al., 1978), and is closely followed by Cornell and Penn State. Iowa State and Michigan State University round out the top five rural sociology departments. And, given the generally high statistical correlations among the various indices listed in Table 11, it appears that an "elite" lineage exists within the rural subdiscipline, and that this lineage consists of the top five departments previously listed. The implications of this lineage on professional mobility are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Mobility of Rural Sociologists

The second hypothesis presented at the conclusion of Chapter III stated that the higher the rank of the department of the doctorate, the higher would be the rank of the department of current employment. This hypothesis, and a general description of rural sociological mobility patterns, are presented in this section.

Table 12 contains data based on the current location of rural faculty members according to the origin of highest degree. The departments listed at the left of Table 12 are

TABLE 12. Rural Faculties of Rural Sociology Departments According to Origin of Members' Highest Degree and Current Teaching Post, 1977

Ph.D. From:	Employed:	Wisconsin	Cornell	Penn St.	Mich St.	Iowa St.	Kentucky	Missouri	Wash St.	Texas A&M	Illinois	LSU	Ohio St.	N.Car.St.	Minnesota	Miss St.	Kansas St.	Georgia	Florida	Utah St.	Maryland	Conn.	Nebraska	Vanderbilt	S.Dak.St.	St.Louis	% Graduates at top 5
Wisconsin	7	2	0	9	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	3	1	8	0	1	3	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	1	35%
Cornell	1	7	1	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	46%
Penn St.	0	0	4	0	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	33%
Mich St.	0	1	2	2	4	2	0	2	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	31%
Iowa St.	0	1	0	0	8	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	53%
Kentucky	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14%
Missouri	0	0	0	0	2	2	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	18%
Wash St.	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16%
Texas A&M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Illinois	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	15%
LSU	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7%
Ohio St.	2	0	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	9	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	19%
N.Car.St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minnesota	2	1	3	1	2	0	4	3	1	0	0	3	0	8	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	26%
Miss St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utah St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conn.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	33%
Vanderbilt	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	20%
S.Dak.St.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St.Louis	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50%
%Graduates from top 5	53	91	63	81	56	43	41	36	45	77	38	20	32	38	23	40	42	33	82	57	40	0	0	0	50	

in the order of the subjective faculty rankings previously presented. Thus, the "distinguished" lineage is represented by departments listed one through five in the right hand column and across the top of the table. The percentages listed at the right, and below the body of the table, provide some insights into the general mobility patterns of rural faculty members. For example, it can be seen that Iowa State has placed more of its graduates in top five schools than any other department listed (53 percent). Since St. Louis University's high percentage is a statistical reflection of a small faculty size, it appears that Iowa State is followed by Cornell in its ability to place graduates in the top five (46 percent). Wisconsin emerges as the third most likely to place graduates among the higher ranked departments (35 percent). It is interesting to note that the most successful in placing graduates among the most highly regarded departments are the departments most highly ranked by professional peers.

The percentages listed at the bottom of Table 12 are also instructive. Simply put, an inspection of these percentages suggests that all of the rural departments prefer graduates of the top five. Indeed, the average department has more than five graduates from the top five departments on its rural faculty, and the average rural faculty size is slightly less than 12.

The findings presented above indicate that the top ranked departments prefer to exchange graduates within their

lineage, but that all departments would prefer hiring top-lineage personnel to any other type of graduate. An inspection of Table 13 reveals, however, that many of the top five faculties are from their own departments. For example, Iowa State has been noted as having a rural faculty consisting of more than 50 percent from the top departments. However, 32 percent of Iowa State's faculty, a top five department itself, are from Iowa State University. With only Michigan State as an exception, it appears that each of the top five departments strongly favor their own graduates. This is to be expected, however, since these graduates have been completely socialized into this particular lineage, and are therefore seen as very attractive by other lineage members (cf. Crane, 1970; Gross, 1970).

Ohio State University emerges as the most likely to hire its own graduates (60 percent). The high percentages for Nebraska, Vanderbilt, and St. Louis University appear to be a reflection of rather small rural faculties.

The third hypothesis presented at the conclusion of Chapter III stated that lineage boundaries would more often be crossed during times of a tight academic market, and that the direction of such crossings would be from high to lower ranking departments. This hypothesis is also addressed in Table 13. For this test, those employed prior to 1971 by a rural department were categorized separately from those employed after that date. This distinction was determined by controlling on the date individuals received their highest

TABLE 13. Selected Characteristics of 25 Rural Sociology Departments

Department	Own Graduates	Total "Rural" Faculty	Percent Of Own Graduates	Rural/General Faculty Ratio	Percent Pre-1971 Top 5 Ph.D.s On Faculty	Percent Post-1971 Top 5 Ph.D.s On Faculty
Wisconsin	7	15	46.6	.34	26.6	26.6
Cornell	7	12	58.3	2.00	83.3	8.3
Penn State	4	11	36.3	.68	63.6	0
Mich State	2	16	12.5	.94	68.7	12.5
Iowa State	8	25	32.0	5.00	48.0	8.0
Kentucky	1	16	6.2	1.00	25.0	18.7
Missouri	5	17	29.4	.94	41.0	0
Wash State	1	11	9.1	.73	27.2	9.1
Texas A&M	1	11	9.1	1.10	27.2	18.2
Illinois	0	9	0	.26	66.6	11.1
LSU	3	13	23.0	6.50	7.6	30.8
Ohio State	9	15	60.0	.60	20.0	0
N.Carolina St.	6	19	31.5	.73	21.0	10.5
Minnesota	8	24	33.3	1.00	29.1	8.3
Miss State	3	13	23.0	6.50	53.8	7.6
Kansas State	0	10	0	.35	40.0	0
Georgia	1	12	8.3	1.00	25.0	16.6
Florida	0	9	0	.47	11.1	22.2
Utah State	0	11	0	.78	72.7	9.0
Maryland	0	7	0	.31	23.5	0
Connecticut	4	10	40.0	.37	30.0	10.0
Nebraska	2	3	66.6	.45	0	0
Vanderbilt	2	3	66.6	.16	0	0
S.Dakota State	0	2	0	.42	0	0
St. Louis	1	2	50.0	.50	50.0	0

degree, and it thus is only a rough indicator of faculty mobility changes. The 1971 date was selected after a search of the literature on academic market conditions for sociologists. As Morrissey and Steadman (1977) note, the major problem of the profession as recently as the late 1960's was the under-supply of sociologists for academic positions (Ferriss, 1968:233). This is now giving way to an over-supply which indicates "a dismal picture of the future employment prospects for sociologists" in academic institutions (McGinnis and Solomon, 1973:57; Dynes, 1978:5). Given that much of the disparity in the supply-demand literature for sociologists appears to correspond roughly with the year 1971, the decision was made to utilize this date as the market turn-around point.

As noted in the final columns of Table 13, only two departments (LSU and Florida) which were initially ranked below the fifth position, have increased in the percentage of top five rural faculty employed after the 1971 cut-off point. From these data it would appear that no major changes have occurred in the exchange patterns between the departments studied. However, Table 14 and 15 provide another view of the situation.

For Table 14 and 15, departments were grouped following the distinctions presented by Cartter (1966). That is, those with faculty quality scores of 4.01 and above have been labeled "distinguished," those with scores between 3.01 and 4.00 are labeled "strong," and those with scores below

TABLE 14. Pre-1970's Employment Patterns For Rural Sociologists at 25 Rural Departments

	Rank of Graduate Department		
Rank of Hiring Department	Distinguished	Strong	Good
Distinguished	58%	41%	0
Strong	27%	67%	6%
Good	29%	40%	31%

r = .27

Chi-Square = 36.477

P = .0001

C = .39

3.01 are labeled "good." The cross-tabulation of departments of highest degree with department of current employment, controlling for date of highest degree, indicate that prior to the 1970's, distinguished departments acquired the majority of their faculty from other distinguished departments (58 percent). No rural sociologists from "good" departments were found among faculty members of "distinguished" departments prior to the 1970's cut-off date. As one might expect, "strong" departments hired graduates from similarly ranked institutions more often than from "distinguished" or "good" departments. Departments categorized as "good" can be seen to have employed more rural sociologists from "strong" ranked departments than from either of the remaining two categories. In summary, it is apparent that the highest ranking departments exchanged students almost exclusively with departments of similar ranks. The same general pattern emerged for middle quality or "strong" departments, while findings were somewhat muddled for schools in the "good" category. Statistical relationships are modest to strong for these patterns (r=.28), although the chi-square and contingency coefficient should be interpreted with caution given the sampling procedure used.

Table 15 contains data representative of departmental exchange after the 1970's cut-off date. Briefly, the findings are somewhat muddled in that the percentage of faculties coming from "good" departments has increased at the apparent expense of "strong" departments at "distinguished"

TABLE 15. Post-1970's Employment Patterns For Rural Sociologists at 25 Rural Departments

	Rank of Graduate Department		
Rank of Hiring Department	Distinguished	Strong	Good
Distinguished	56%	33%	11%
Strong	30%	56%	14%
Good	18%	44%	37%

r = .28

Chi-Square = 9.761

P = .05

C = .31

hiring institutions. Again, "strong" departments have been able to attract only a few additional graduates from distinguished institutions, while "good" departments show increased percentages for attracting "good" and "strong" graduates, at the expense of gaining "distinguished" graduates.

In summary, while lineage boundaries have been crossed since the 1971 date used in this study, the patterns of such crossings are unclear. The hypothesis stating that boundaries would be crossed from high to lower ranking institutions only received partial support in that only middle range departments have increased in their ability to attract distinguished graduates. "Good" departments, apparently, have yet to take full advantage of the current market situation (cf. Dynes, 1978).

Predicting Productivity and Departmental Prestige

Hypotheses four, five and six stipulated relationships between measures of productivity and several characteristics of departments. In general, measures of faculty size, (i.e. total size, student-faculty ratios, Ph.D.'s awarded, etc.), age (i.e. professional or chronological), and dominant departmental lineage (i.e. dominant lineage within a department as indicated by number of rural sociologists to general sociologists, etc.) were stated as having a direct influence on the productivity practices of a rural sociology department. The correlations found among several of the measures thought to conceptually match the variables indicated by the

hypotheses presented are given in Table 16.

The first variable listed in Table 16 is the general to rural faculty ratio for each of the departments studied. Since it was believed that a dominant rural lineage within a department would create more rural productivity, this measure was employed as an indicator of departmental publication and socialization influence. As can be seen in Table 16, the rural faculty ratio is not strongly related to any of the other listed variables.

Drawing from earlier studies (Janes, 1969), it was thought that student-faculty ratios would aid in predicting the productivity of a faculty, as well as would the age of a faculty (Janes, 1970). As can be seen in Table 16, student-faculty ratios are strongly related to the number of Ph.D.s awarded by a particular department. Both measures seems to be an artifact of departmental size, and thus the Ph.D.s awarded variable was eventually eliminated from the final model. As one might expect, professional age and average age of department were also strongly related. Since it seemed that professional age best matched the theoretical implications discussed in Chapter III of this dissertation, the average age variable was eliminated from the final model.

Total faculty size was found to be correlated rather modestly with the graduate-faculty ratio variable. However, since it was not strongly related to any other valuable predictor of productivity, it was retained in the final analysis.

TABLE 16. Zero-Order Correlations Of Variables For Possible Use In A Model For Predicting Production And Prestige

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}
Rural Faculty Ratio X_1	–	-.16	-.24	-.06	-.09	-.23	.01	.13	.31	.19	.10
Student-Faculty Ratio X_2		–	.18	-.01	.89	.47	.28	.38	.62	.66	.66
Professional Age X_3			–	.81	.09	-.01	.49	-.07	.07	.03	.08
Average Age X_4				–	-.05	-.12	.29	-.06	.01	-.15	-.09
Ph.D.s Awarded X_5					–	.45	.12	.38	.57	.59	.59
Total Faculty Size X_6						–	.11	.26	.17	.42	.37
Top Five Faculty Ratio X_7							–	.29	.38	.52	.54
Total Publication Score X_8								–	.67	.69	.71
Graduate Publication Score X_9									–	.80	.83
Subjective Faculty Score X_{10}										–	.98
Subjective Effectiveness Score X_{11}											–
$\bar{X}$ =	1.33	49.6	15.1	47.5	7.6	29.5	.44	329.0	253.6	2.8	1.3
Sd =	1.81	33.4	4.4	5.0	7.1	16.9	.24	293.7	296.3	0.9	0.6

The ratio of top five rural faculty to other rural faculty was also included as a predictor variable. It was felt that faculty members from "distinguished" departments would promote publications and act as socializing agents for graduate students.

Five variables were retained for use in a regression analysis designed to account for variations in faculty productivity; rural-general faculty ratios, student-faculty ratios, average professional age of departments, faculty size, and top five rural-rural faculty ratios. Dependent variables included total publication index scores for department, graduate productivity scores, and subjective faculty and program effectiveness scores.

The findings of the regression analyses are presented in Table 17, which contains the standardized regression coefficients and the R^2 for each of the four models. As can be seen, the five predictor variables jointly account for almost 30 percent of the variation in departmental productivity (R^2=.294). The best predictor seems to be the student-faculty ratio (.323), followed by the top five rural-rural faculty ratio. Professional age is inversely related to departmental productivity scores, which is the direction hypothesized. Of further interest is the fact that faculty size and rural-faculty ratios exert very little influence on productivity levels.

The five variable model accounts for slightly more than 60 percent of the variation in graduate productivity scores

Table 17. Standardized Regression Coefficients For A Five Variable Model of Productivity And Prestige

	Total Publication Score	Graduate Publication Score	Subjective Assessment Faculty	Subjective Assessment Effectiveness
Rural Faculty Ratio	.197	.379*	.256	.149
Student-Faculty Ratio	.323	.665**	.517**	.542**
Professional Age	-.232	-.085	-.233	-.225
Faculty Size	.113	-.084	.184	.094
Top-Five Ratio	.301	.245	.477**	.494**
R^2 =	.294	.605	.711	.661

* P = .05

** P = .01

(R^2=.605). Again, the student-faculty ratio stands out as the best predictor of productivity, followed by the rural-faculty ratio (.379). This suggests that faculty members who publish in rural outlets "socialize" their students into similar patterns, and this overall pattern probably takes place most often in larger departments. Again, although very weak, professional age is inversely signed. Thus, not only do younger departments publish more often, they also influence graduates to be productive. This finding is in keeping with the theoretical assumptions outlined in the preceeding chapter. Simply put, younger faculty members are closer to the dominant paradigm (being more recently socialized) and they pass this paradigmatic stance on to their students.[1]

When the five-variable model is used to account for subjective faculty rankings, slightly more than 70 percent of the variation is explained (R^2=.711). As in the earlier models, student-faculty ratios emerge as a valuable predictor (.517). However, the next most valuable predictor is the top five rural-rural faculty ratio. These findings suggest larger departments (i.e. more graduates), with those from "distinguished" lineages on the faculty, are more often assessed favorably by professional peers. And again, in that the professional age variable is inversely signed, the faculty is generally relatively young professionally. This pattern remains unchanged for the program effectiveness variable, although the explained variation is somewhat reduced

(R^2=.661).

If the subjective assessments of rural departments depend primarily upon the comparisons made by other professionals via scholarly journals and other publications, one would expect that publication scores would provide an excellent means of predicting departmental productivity. As well, if students are indeed socialized into the tasks most often rewarded within the department of their highest degree, and if comparisons are made based on the performance of these students, then graduate publication scores should also provide an excellent means for accounting for variations in faculty and program effectiveness scores. Consequently, these two variables (total publication and graduate publication scores) were utilized in a regression analysis to predict subjective departmental rankings.

Table 18 contains the standardized regression coefficients and the R^2's for the six-variable models including total publication scores. The two publication scores were not used in the same model due to the problem of multicolinearity (cf. Blalock, 1972:457). The six-variable model accounts for approximately 80 percent of the variation in both subjective faculty and program effectiveness scores. Again, the faculty-student ratio emerges as the most significant predictor variable, followed by the top five rural-rural faculty fatios and departmental publications. These variables were statistically significant in both models.

TABLE 18. Standardized Regression Coefficients For A Six Variable Model Of Subjective Assessments Of Faculty And Effectiveness Including Total Publication Scores

	Subjective Assessment Faculty	Subjective Assessment Effectiveness
Rural Faculty Ratio	.186	.068
Student-Faculty Ratio	.403**	.409**
Professional Age	-.150	-.129
Faculty Size	.144	.048
Top Five Ratio	.370*	.371
Total Publication Score	.354*	.409**
R^2 =	.800	.779

* P = .05

** P = .01

Table 19 contains the standardized regression coefficients and the R^2's for the six-variable regression model including graduate productivity scores. As can easily be seen, the graduate productivity score emerges as the most powerful predictor variable, and slightly more than 80 percent of both subjective scores is explained with this model. Top five rural-rural faculty ratios also appear to influence graduate productivity scores to a considerable degree.

Summary

The general findings of this study were outlined in this chapter. It was found that subjective evaluations of the quality of rural sociology faculties and of graduate program effectiveness, consistently correlated highly with objective publication measures. It was shown that persons from highly ranked or "distinguished" departments were preferred as faculty members by all of the departments studied, but that "top five" departments preferred graduates of other top five departments or their own departments over graduates of "strong" or "good" departments. The hypothesis stating that lineage parameters would be crossed from high to lower ranking departments received only modest support. It was found that the productivity of a department was, in part, a function of the student-faculty ratio for that department, as well as a function of the relative number of faculty present from highly ranked departments. Graduate productivity scores were found to be a function of student-faculty

TABLE 19. Standardized Regression Coefficients For A Six Variable Model Of Subjective Assessments Of Faculty And Effectiveness Including Graduate Productivity Scores

	Subjective Assessment Faculty	Subjective Assessment Effectiveness
Rural Faculty Ratio	.066	-.100
Student-Faculty Ratio	.183	.105
Professional Age	-.190	-.169
Faculty Size	.226	.149
Top Five Ratio	.354*	.333*
Graduate Publication Score	.502**	.657**
R^2 =	.811	.831

* P = .05

** P = .01

ratios and rural-faculty ratios. Subjective assessments of faculty and program effectiveness were best explained by student-faculty ratios and the presence of faculty members from top five departments. The addition of total publication scores and graduate publication scores increased R^2's considerably for each model, and were valuable predictors of variation in subjective evaluation scores.

The implications of the above findings, and a more general discussion of the findings within the theoretical framework described in Chapter III are described in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. In that student-faculty ratios consistently provide the best predictor variable for publications, it might be said that this measure, in part, captures the magnitude of research conducted within a department. Simply put, the more money available, the more graduate research assistants hired and the more data to write up and publish.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

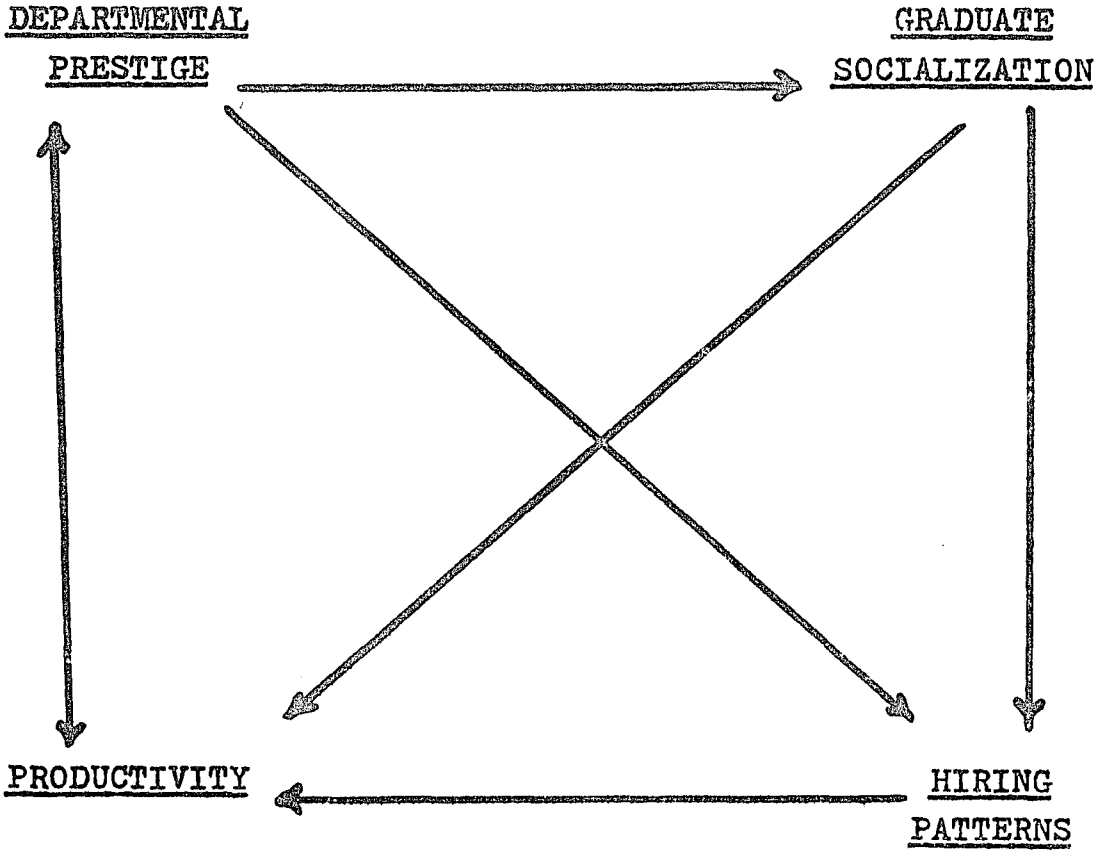
Introduction

From the findings presented in the preceeding chapter it is clear that a lineage system operates within the rural subdiscipline. The immediate implications of this system are to be found in its influence on the hiring practices employed by the rural departments studied. Moreover, it is apparent that departmental prestige is in large part a function of publication practices, and that these practices are an artifact of "socialization" into prestigious lineages. This over-all prestige system provides the basis for the organization of this chapter. First, a discussion is presented which summarizes the findings in light of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter III. Secondly, a discussion is presented of the possible implications of the prestige system upon departmental configurations during changing academic market conditions.

The Prestige System in Rural Sociology

The conclusions of this study are graphically summarized in Figure 2. As indicated there, the prestige of an institution has been found to profoundly influence the professional tasks a graduate student eventually learns to

FIGURE 2. A Graphic Presentation of The Relationships Between Prestige, Socialization, Hiring Patterns, And Productivity For Rural Sociologists



perform and value during his or her professional career. Simply put, it has been found that the more prestigious the lineage of socialization, the more likely an individual is to publish in traditional rural sociological outlets. In this sense, the findings suggest the uncovering of a specific type of sociologists, or of sociologists' socialized into a rather distinct role; the research-dominant role. This role is similar in many ways to Horowitz's (1970:359) concept of the "antisociologist." Specifically, those in research-dominant roles are those who were socialized in the more prestigious and generally larger departments, and as Horowitz suggests these individuals do a considerable amount of writing, and place a great value on productivity. This fact is evidenced in the consistently higher publication scores for both highly regarded departments and highly ranked departments of graduate origin.

The performance of one role implies and requires the performance of a second role, and in this sense, it is suggested that a teaching-dominant role also exists within the rural subdiscipline. Those filling this type of role are those generally socialized in the less prestigious and smaller departments. When these individuals write, they do so more as an educationist than as a social scientist. This role would correspond to Horowitz's (1970:359) concept of the "unsociologist," and as such, aids in accounting for the variations in departmental and graduate productivity scores, and their association with subjective rankings.[1]

The presence and influence of the lineage system becomes even more apparent when general employment patterns are considered. In this instance it is clear by the exchange patterns of departmental graduates that a certain "mutual respect" exists between the few departments at the very top of the lineage hierarchy. That is, it becomes clear that some lineages have generally been excluded from directly exchanging with other lineages. This was particularly true prior to the early 1970's, before the oversupply of sociology Ph.D.'s was first felt (cf. Dynes, 1978:5). In general, however, the findings of this study indicate that highly regarded lineages prefer, in large part, faculty members from the same or similarly ranked departments. This finding is consistent with earlier reports of the same phenomena (Crane, 1970; Gross, 1970).

It should be reiterated that departments are assumed to hire individuals who will maximize the department's position within the prestige system. As Stinchcombe (1975:60) suggests, departments do this by trying to attract the best students of established and highly regarded scholars. That that particular category of sociologist exists is also suggested by the data on productivity, and can be assumed from the preceeding discussion on research-dominant roles. Thus, students can be seen as being socialized into the roles of their mentors within specific lineages; if it is a highly ranked lineage the student will perform according to the norms of the research-dominant role and will begin to write

and publish in various rural outlets. The same would be true for those socialized into the teaching-dominant role. Specifically, teacher-dominants would expend the majority of their professional energy in the classroom or as student advisors. In any event, these individuals are generally hired within their lineage and are rewarded according to the reward structure of that lineage. If it is a highly ranked lineage, the neophyte will publish, and this contribution to the literature will add to the visibility of the lineage. This increased visibility in turn provides other sociologists with a standard for comparison (Caplow, 1964: 202), which generates a rural sociological prestige order. This prestige order, when an ideal academic market exists, is self-perpetuating, and creates (or recreates) a rural sociological "establishment" (cf. Shamblin, 1970). This "establishment" overlaps considerably with the top lineages, which tend to reaffirm the very standards by which prestige is evaluated (Gross, 1970), and the cycle continues.

As a final note, it is suggested that during times of market tranquility, departments tend to function in a state of equilibrium. That is, reward systems are generally not questioned nor are attempts made to radically change them. This is so because faculties share common goals and values, and when proper departmental norms are followed, rewards are distributed accordingly.

To briefly summarize, rural sociologists' perceptions of departmental effectiveness and faculty quality were found

to correlate strongly with several objective measures of departmental quality. Since subjective rankings have been criticized as merely measuring departmental prestige (Lewis, 1968; Shamblin, 1970), the correlations between the objective measures and the subjective rankings indicate that high visibility via publication outlets influence to a great extent subjective departmental assessments. The agreement in rankings of departments via several measures strongly suggests the existence of highly regarded lineages within the rural subdiscipline, and this notion received support from the findings on general mobility patterns. It was found that highly ranked lineages preferred to exchange with similarly ranked lineages more often than with lesser ranked lineages. This rather strong pattern of exchange became muddled when dates of highest degree were used to control for exchanges made both prior to and after the early 1970's, when academic market conditions tightened considerably. The possible implications of the findings upon future configurations of rural sociology departments are discussed in the following section.

The Implications of The Lineage System For Rural Sociology: A Concluding Scenario

The "crisis" for contemporary sociology has clearly become the over-supply of Ph.D.'s for an already crowded academic market. As Dynes (1978:5) points out, over 80 percent of new sociology Ph.D.'s plan academic employment in a

market which might absorb 35 percent. With this in mind, several authors have written of the possibilities of "applied" sociologies, and of the various career contingencies for sociologists in nonacademic settings (Morrissey and Steadman, 1977; Foote, 1974).[2] However, little attention has been directed toward the implications of the current academic marketplace for the future configurations of purely academic settings. Specifically, little thought has been given to the sociology departments who are hiring the "absorbable" 35 percent noted above, nor has any attention been given to the individuals who gain academic employment during an employment drought. The major implications of the findings reported here are found in the patterns and trends detected within the prestige, mobility and productivity systems of the subdiscipline of rural sociology.

Briefly, as the academic market continues to worsen for new sociology Ph.D.'s, the probabilities of gaining academic appointments within a specific lineage also decrease. Thus, there will eventually not be enough positions at the higher levels of the prestige hierarchy to absorb graduates of the top-flight departments. These individuals, predominantly of the research-dominant role variety, will be forced to seek academic employment within the lower ranks of the lineage hierarchy. At first glance, this situation will have tremendous appeal for lesser ranked departments, since they will be able to select relatively more graduates from the higher levels for entry into their lineage. As noted earlier,

departments are assumed to attempt a maximization of benefits when attracting new faculty, and thus, the tight market will increase their recruitment chances.

Unfortunately, the academic positions generally assumed by middle range or "strong" lineage graduates will go to persons from "distinguished" lineages. This will result in a trickle effect, wherein "strong" lineage graduates will accept positions at "good" lineage departments. Graduates from "good" lineage departments will continue to find academic employment for a time, generally in four-year institutions and junior colleges, but eventually they will turn to the various contingency opportunities available to them (i.e. government agency jobs, private research firms, industry, and so forth). In large part, the influence of the academic employment drought will be to move "distinguished" lineage graduates into every level of the academic prestige system. Given that most nascent sociologists hope for academic positions (cf. Dynes, 1978), and given that those employed in research positions in government agencies, industry and private research firms seldom come into contact with exceptional undergraduate sociology students, there will be a reduction in the number of graduate students sent to the lower ranking schools. Rather, the majority of graduates will continue to come from the upper levels of the prestige hierarchy, and these departments will continue to have the pick of the crop even when graduate programs are reduced in size. Thus, another possible influence of the current

academic market will be the eventual elimination or significant reduction in the size of graduate programs at the very lowest levels of the lineage prestige system.

The influence of the increase in numbers of top lineage graduates into lower levels of the system represents a crossing of lineage parameters and a mixing of roles. In this instance, the first effects for departments at lower levels will be the institution of observable moities. Specifically, departments will divide into subdivisions based on level of lineage and dominant role. It is suggested that the division will center on the distinction between teaching and research, and will eventuate in a disequilibrium for the department caused by attempts to modify existing reward structures and the distribution of valued items. As outlined in Chapter III, members of the incoming research-dominant lineage will note anomalies in the departmental reward structure. This will eventuate a crisis, and finally a form of revolution will take place. The result will be, eventually, a new reward structure based on the criteria of the dominant lineage.

The upper levels of the prestige hierarchy will not experience departmental upheavals to the extent they are felt at the lower levels of the system. Remaining in a relatively stable state, upper level lineages will experience problems attendant to the placement of graduates, as academic positions will continue to become even more scarce at all junctures of the system. This problem will also be felt at the

"strong" and "good" levels of the system but it will be in addition to the problems brought on by departmental subdivisions.

The overall effect of the current academic tight market will be the eventual take-over of the entire subdiscipline by the members of the upper level lineages described in this study. Since these lineages are currently thought to be of the highest quality, and since they are believed to be the most effective rural practioners, the eventual result of their take-over should be positive for the advancement of rural sociology. If the highly regarded departments obtain a monopoly on the academic placement of students, the outcome can only be a redistribution of the "distinguished" graduates throughout all levels of the rural subdiscipline.

The above scenario is based in large part on the data analyzed in the present study. However, as in most investigations of this type, patterns and trends are not entirely clear. Interpretation should therefore be made with caution. It should be considered, for example, that rural sociologists publish in many more journals than Rural Sociology, and thus, while the objective rankings used here are superior to earlier efforts (Grimes et al., 1978), they too are somewhat skewed. Moreover, even though the sample of rural sociologists used in this study was found to fairly well approximate the population from which it was drawn, it is certain that 182 rural sociologists can only partially reflect the opinions and attitudes of the entire population

of rural sociologists. Furthermore, the departments used for the subjective rankings portion of this investigation may not totally reflect the true rural department population, in that the "rural specialties" or "courses" they list as offerings in the ASA Guide may in reality be outdated and dropped from their current catalogs.

The above limitations aside, it is believed that this study has fairly well identified the leading rural departments in the nation. Because a multiple measurement technique was used, the general ordering of these departments can be assumed valid. It is therefore hoped that the findings of this research effort will aid in the future planning and design of rural graduate programs, and methods for improving existing educational structures, as well as the selection of programs for attendance by students, and employment by faculty.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to Horowitz (1970), the antisociologist is also more cosmopolitan in his or her professional outlook, while the unsociologist is professionally local in orientation. Thus, the antisociologists (research-dominant) look for national recognition via publications, while unsociologists are content to be local achievers within their own university system or department.

2. Some other solutions might include cutting back on the number of graduate students allowed to enter a program, or the socialization of students toward employment other than within the traditional university setting.

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Major Field: Sociology

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